

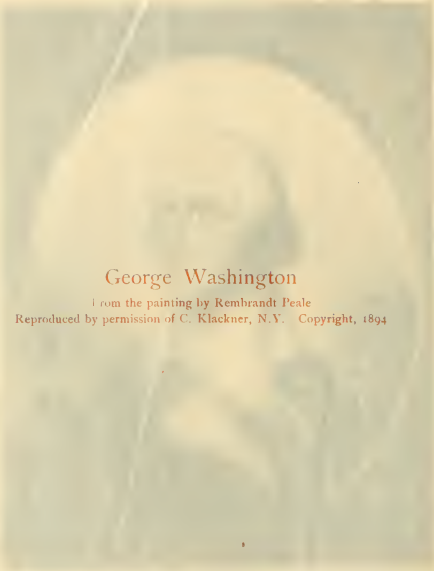
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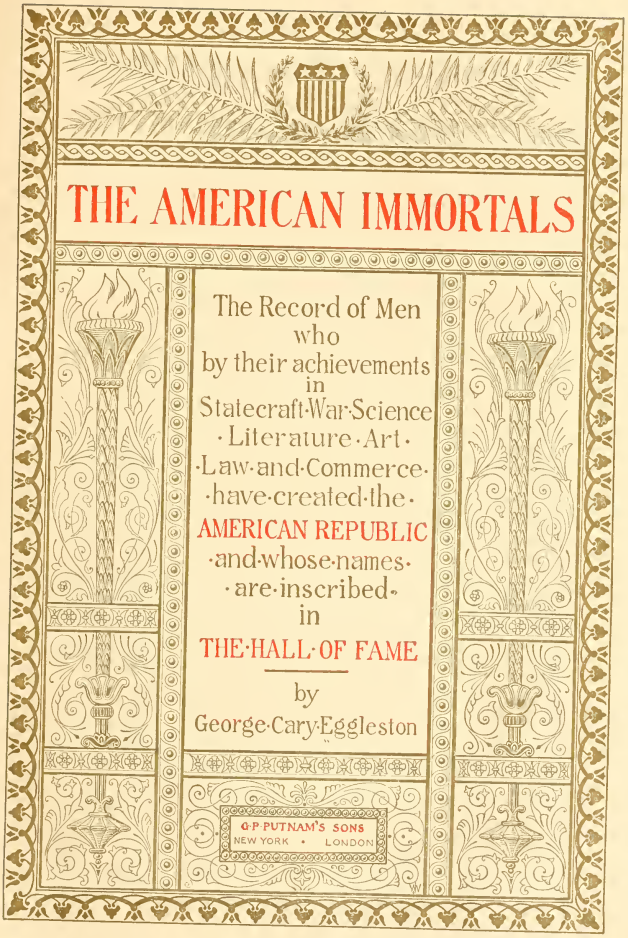




George Washington

From the painting by Rembrandt Peale

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THE AMERICAN IMMORTALS
The Record of Men
who
by their achievements
in
Statecraft·War·Science
·Literature·Art·
·Law·and·Commerce·
·have·created·the·
AMERICAN REPUBLIC
·and·whose·names·
·are·inscribed·
in
THE·HALL·OF FAME
by
George·Cary·Eggleston
G·P·PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK · LONDON

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INTRODUCTORY

THE HALL OF FAME AND THE SELECTIONS MADE

IT is the purpose of this book to present critical estimates of the men elected to the New York University's Hall of Fame, with so much of biography in each case as is necessary to a due comprehension of the subjects. It has been the author's endeavor to give to the reader an impartial and intelligent account of the character, achievements, and history of each of the twenty-nine men who have been deemed worthy of place in this pantheon, and also to make them the subjects of some essays which the public may wish to read. The subjects, at any rate, are attractively worthy. The occasion of their admission to the Hall of Fame gives an opportunity to consider them anew.

These estimates have been written, the author persuades himself, in the broadest spirit of appreciation, but without flinching from adverse criticism where adverse criticism has seemed to him to be justified. His sole aim has been to get at the truth and tell it.

In his official book, *The Hall of Fame* (G. P. Putnam's Sons), Chancellor MacCracken has fully explained the origin and purpose of this unique University adjunct. A more succinct account is all that is needed as an introduction to the present work.

The Hall of Fame is a very noble architectural structure on the grounds of the New York University, with commanding views that can scarcely be matched anywhere for their beauty or their nobility. In its design and proportions, it is quite unique in American architecture. It is the gift of an anonymous generosity, and its purpose is to stimulate patriotism and high endeavor by commemorating those virtues in persons who have passed away, and by collecting in a museum busts, portraits, and mementos of these our great.

Under the terms of the gift, and under the rules adopted by the Senate of the University for the administration of the trust, no name is to be admitted to inscription in the Hall of Fame except those of men or women born within the present territorial limits of the United States ; no name except that of one who has been ten years dead ; and no name which has not been selected by a majority of the distinguished jury impanelled to pass upon nominations, and afterwards approved by the Senate of the University. Indeed, it is not possible to speak too highly of the care taken by the generous giver of the Hall of Fame, and by the Senate of the University, to prevent all mistakes of enthusiasm or of prejudice.

The jury which made the selections consists of one hundred men and women, each eminent in attainments and position, and together they represent a varied activity. To them, by popular nomination and otherwise, were submitted two hundred names. Each member of the jury was privileged to make further nominations at will, and in that way thirty-four additional names were presented for consideration. From this list of two hundred and thirty-four names each member of the jury was privileged to vote for fifty, the number of canonizations that the conditions allowed in the election of 1900.

It was wisely decreed by the Senate of the University that no name should be accepted without at least fifty-one votes, a majority of the entire jury, whether all the jury should vote or not. As a result, only twenty-nine men were in fact elected to the Hall of Fame, and a supplementary election in 1902 will be necessary to complete the list of fifty assigned to 1900. After that, elections will occur every five years during this century.

There has naturally been a good deal of criticism, in the newspapers and elsewhere, of the results of the election. That criticism, however, has not taken the form of censure upon any of the selections made. It has concerned itself rather with the omissions.

There is wonder, for example, that while Asa Gray was admitted, as the great botanist that he was, by fifty-one votes, his mentor and master, John Torrey, to whom he always bowed his head in reverence, had but a single vote. Apparently, the members of the

jury were imperfectly informed as to the relative distinction of American botanists.

Wonder has been expressed, also, that while Gilbert Stuart was elected to a place by 52 votes, and while Copley had 33, Hiram Powers 30, William M. Hunt 13, and Crawford 9, Benjamin West was not even nominated for consideration. Whatever judgments the art critics of to-day may form as to the merits of West's work, he is, without question, the most famous of American artists, in the sense at least of being ranked first by the greatest number of people. In his own time, he was one of the most famous artists of any country. It was he who first brought common sense to bear upon modern historical painting. He first insisted upon clothing modern historical characters in the costumes of their own time and country and position, instead of tricking them out in classical garb or mediæval garniture of person. He made this daring innovation in behalf of truth, in defiance of Sir Joshua Reynolds's protest, but with that great master's full approbation after West had demonstrated the artistic practicability of such a substitution of truth for tradition. West created a new epoch in art. He rose to such eminence that, despite his American birth, the British Royal Academy repeatedly elected him to be its President, at a time when everything American was *anathema maranatha* in England. Surely Benjamin West ought to have a place in the Hall of Fame. Perhaps the election of 1902 will repair this extraordinary oversight.

Again, it is difficult to understand why Elias Howe, the inventor of the sewing-machine, was not accorded a place by the side of Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton-gin. To these two men, in about equal degree, the world owes it that in our time the poorest of men and women may be comfortably clad. Eli Whitney's invention gave mankind the cheapest raw material of clothing that has been known "since ever the foundations of the world were laid." Elias Howe's invention enormously cheapened the process of converting this and all other raw materials of clothing into actual garments for the warming of human backs. Incidentally, too, Howe's invention of the sewing-machine enormously increased the employment and the earnings of all sewing-women and of all others who are engaged in the manufacture of clothing, while Whitney's gave a new lease of life to human slavery. If one were asked which of these two inventors did most for humanity, it would be difficult to give an answer. But surely if one of them deserves a place in our pantheon the other does.

There has been objection made in some of the newspapers to the admission of Fulton instead of Fitch as the originator of the steamboat, and of Morse instead of Henry as the inventor of the telegraph. These questions are carefully examined in this volume, in the essays that relate to their subjects. It is enough to say here, that while Fitch did build and navigate a steamboat, as some others did before Fulton launched the *Clermont,* their experiments were so far from

successful that they were abandoned, while Fulton carried his to a success of which we hear the applause every time a steamer blows its whistle. It was Fulton who made steam navigation a fact, with all the wonderful consequences of good that have followed.

In the same way, while Joseph Henry did indeed invent a telegraph and send signals by it, in anticipation of Morse's efforts, he did not know what to do with his discoveries. His experiments were academic, not practical; so were his results. He could ring bells at a distance by electrical impulse. He first discovered how to send that impulse over long intervening spaces. But the bells meant next to nothing, and Henry never found out how to send accurate written messages over a wire, how to make telegraphy minister to that close and easy and quick intercommunication among men which is the chief condition of civilization and human progress. It was Morse who did this. It was he who gave us the electro-magnetic telegraph. A later election will undoubtedly inscribe Joseph Henry's name upon a well-deserved tablet in the Hall of Fame. But there is no just ground of criticism in the fact that the judges selected Morse first as the inventor of practical, working, and widely beneficent telegraphy.

In every such controversy as these two concerning the steamboat and the telegraph, the thoughtful man is reminded of the controversy concerning the discovery of America by the Norsemen, the Irish, and the Welsh. If any of those people discovered this continent, they did not know what they had found, and they care-

lessly lost it again ; no accidental, wind-governed discoveries of theirs in any conceivable way impaired the value or lessened the credit of Columbus's deliberately planned and painfully executed work. It was not a mythical Lief the Lucky or Eric the Red who gave the Americas to civilization and made the greatest of all liberty-loving nations possible, but the Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus.

Still another fact, in connection with the selection made, deserves mention. The poll is an absolutely free one, without distinction as to sex. There were three women on the jury of selection, and women equally with men, throughout the country, were privileged to make nominations. Yet no woman was chosen: only eight women were voted for at all, and the highest vote given to any one of them was 20 for Mary Lyon, against 14 for Charlotte Cushman, 13 for Martha Washington, 7 for Maria Mitchell, 12 for Dorothea L. Dix, 11 for Lucretia Mott, 4 for Emma Willard, and 3 for Helen Hunt. Harriet Beecher Stowe, of course, had not been long enough dead to permit the inclusion of her name in the list of nominations. Otherwise the inscription of her name in the "Hall of Fame" would have been quite a matter of course, as it will be when the prescribed ten years after death shall have elapsed. For there can be no question in any instructed mind that Mrs. Stowe's genius and work have exercised a larger influence upon the thought of the American people and upon the destinies of the Republic than have

those of any other woman who has lived and worked.

Another fact that has excited remark is that no name has been selected from the list of great physicians and surgeons who have been celebrated in the land. The highest vote given to any man in this class was 42 for Benjamin Rush. Valentine Mott had 18 votes, and J. Marion Sims 28. Dr. Gross, the father of American surgery, whose writings on that subject are recognized as authoritative in the hospitals and medical schools of every enlightened country, was not even suggested to the jury or by any of its members. Was this because there is not one man on the jury who is eminent in medicine or surgery or even well informed as to achievements in that department?

In literature, personal taste plays so large a part in the formation of opinion that no selection could possibly have been made, perhaps, which would not have encountered much astonished criticism Yet, as there were fifty names to be chosen and only twenty-nine were in fact selected, and as the test was intended to be *fame*, rather than any critical judgment of the individual jurors as to merit, many have wondered that while Longfellow had 85 votes, William Cullen Bryant received but 49, Edgar Allan Poe only 38, John Lothrop Motley 41, James Fenimore Cooper 30, John Howard Payne 4, and Thoreau a beggarly 3.

In the class of educators, also, the result of the

voting has awakened some surprise. The choice of Horace Mann for a place in the Hall of Fame was quite properly a matter of course. The only wonder is that he did not receive the full 97 votes cast instead of the 67 actually given to him. But there is a good deal of popular wonder that Dr. Gallaudet's lifelong and extraordinary service in the education of the blind—the most notable service of that kind that has been rendered by anybody anywhere since the nineteenth century dawned—did not command for him more than 14 votes in his class ; that Mark Hopkins had but 48, Francis Wayland 24, Theodore D. Woolsey 21, and Lindley Murray 7, while several other eminent educators were not nominated at all.

The purpose of this analysis of the vote is not one of criticism, but of exposition. Its aim is to show simply the points at which criticism, in the public prints and elsewhere, has found fault. But fault is found exclusively with omissions, and later elections will almost certainly repair these errors in so far as they are found to be really errors. With the single exception that one contentious and intemperately partisan newspaper has condemned the admission of General Robert E. Lee to the pantheon, there has been nowhere a suggestion that any of those chosen is unworthy of the honor accorded to him. The twenty-one names to be chosen next year will pretty certainly include most, if not all, of those who really ought to have been chosen in 1900. And the quinquennial elections that are to occur later will doubtless fill up

the roll to the reasonable satisfaction of every well-balanced mind.

Every reader of these essays will probably find something in them with which to disagree. I should be sorry if it were to fall out otherwise. For that would mean that my readers are unthinking people, while in all that I have here written my appeal has been made to people who think.

One purpose of this book is to stimulate a just appreciation of the men who have made our nation's history what it is in every department of human endeavor. If in any degree the essays that follow accomplish that patriotic purpose, the author will rest satisfied with his work.

THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION

GEORGE WASHINGTON

WHEN the Senate of the University of the City of New York empanelled a jury of nearly one hundred distinguished men, representing in themselves and their work most of that which is best in current American endeavor and achievement, and asked them to select the fifty greatest Americans of the past for a species of canonization in the "Hall of Fame," they were all of one mind as to a single name with which to head their lists. George Washington alone had the suffrage of every member of the distinguished jury. Concerning the supremacy of his title to fame, there was no question in any mind, no hesitation in any judgment.

It is quite safe to say that the verdict would have been precisely the same if any other hundred Americans of enlightened mind had constituted the jury. Nay, more; if any hundred distinguished foreigners, in no close way in touch with our American life, had been asked to select our fifty greatest men, it is beyond doubt or question that every one of them would have named George Washington first, no matter what

differences of opinion they might have manifested concerning the rest of the list. It is even truer to-day than it was when the President of Congress, in 1783, said to Washington: "You retire from the theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command. It will continue to animate the remotest ages."

All this is instructively significant and indicative. It aptly suggests not only the universality of Washington's fame, but also the unquestioned and unquestionable character of the foundations upon which that fame securely rests.

Early in the nineteenth century, and while the passions of two American wars still rankled in British breasts, Lord Byron touched one of the keys to this universal, all-comprehending fame when he wrote:

> "George Washington had thanks and naught beside,
> Except the all-cloudless glory which few men's is
> To free his country."

There was the keynote—self-sacrifice! The willing surrender of personal advantage, personal ambition, personal ease, for the good of others, and for the country's salvation, was the central fact of George Washington's character and career, and it is the rock basis of his fame as it is the foundation of all true greatness and of every lovable religion that has at any period of the world's history contributed to the uplifting of mankind. If our American admiration of

Washington partakes somewhat of the religious in its character, it does so with just reason.

With every tempting opportunity for self-seeking, with every reward before his eyes that ambition could covet, George Washington devoted his whole life to the patient and toilsome and often severely painful service of his country, asking nothing in the way of compensation, and treating the great honors that were thrust upon him by his countrymen merely as new calls of duty, new occasions for devotion, new opportunities to render service in behalf of the public weal.

When he took command of his country's armies, and with meagre, uncertain, and often untrustworthy means, undertook the seemingly hopeless task of throwing off the British yoke, his distrust of himself was grandly genuine, and his consecration to his country's cause devoutly complete. His first concern was for duty, and to that he gave all of love and devotion of which his great nature was capable. He rejected every suggestion of reward. In the very act of accepting his commission, and with it a duty more onerous than any other that ever fell to an American, he refused in advance the pay that Congress offered him, and said to that body that he would accept nothing whatever for his services,—that he would take no dollar of the people's money as pay. He would permit Congress to do nothing more in a financial way than repay his actual expenditures incurred in the conduct of his arduous work ; and even for these expenditures—amounting to more than fourteen thousand pounds—

he made no demand until his seven-years' service was ended and his great work completely done.

When the seven years of strenuous war were over, and he sought rest in that country life which he had always longed to lead, his repose was of brief duration. He was again called into the service of his country, and again he rendered that service without pay, as president of that matchless body of nation-builders who framed the Constitution of these United States. He even bore his own expenses during the whole time of that splendid service, without which it is doubtful that we should ever have had a constitution or a republic worthy of a place in history.

Not only was his country ready to reward him for services that were felt to be of inestimable value, but the separate parts of it, the individual States, pressed upon him offers of compensation which he might honorably have accepted. Thus, upon his first retirement to Mount Vernon, after surrendering his commission, it was foreseen that he must exercise a great hospitality there. It was foreseen that his countrymen would crowd upon him as guests eager to do him honor, but incidentally "eating him out of house and home." In this situation the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania instructed the delegates of that State in Congress to call attention to the threatened infliction and to suggest that the nation should in some way take from Washington's shoulders this enormous burden, the nation itself assuming it by means of some national award. All this was done officially, and when the

official documents were laid before Washington he was busily engaged in an effort to adjust his own affairs so as to "make both ends meet." During his long absence in the service of the country his estates had become involved in many ways, and on his return he found more than a little difficulty in providing ways and means for the discharge of his obligations. He was, in fact, financially embarrassed. Yet he rejected the offered intervention in his favor, as Irving says, "most gratefully and respectfully," "jealously maintaining the satisfaction of having served his country at the sacrifice of his private interests."

As for the question of entertainment, he solved that in a truly democratic way. To a friend he wrote: "My manner of living is plain, and I do not mean to be put out of it. A glass of wine and a bit of mutton are always ready for any caller, and such as will be content to partake of them are always welcome. Those who expect more will be disappointed."

Still more greatly was he embarrassed in 1785, when his native State, Virginia, sought to reward him for another and more special service. He had devised a scheme of canal construction which promised to render Virginia the great commercial State that New York is, and the scheme had been adopted. It was felt by the Legislature and people of the State that the man who had conceived this splendid enterprise should have a share in the profits of it. By unanimous vote of the Assembly of Virginia, fifty shares of stock in the Potomac Company and one hundred shares in

the James River Company were appropriated for Washington's benefit. Irving tells us of his embarrassment in presence of this offer in the following words: "To decline so noble and unequivocal a testimonial of the good opinion and good will of his countrymen might be construed into disrespect, yet he wished to be perfectly free to exercise his judgment and express his opinion in the matter without being liable to the least suspicion of interested motive." He solved the difficulty by declining to accept the shares for his own personal benefit, while agreeing to accept them for devotion to a great public and educational use which he had long cherished as a hope. He asked the Legislature, instead of giving this property to him, to devote it to the establishment of institutions of learning planned by himself, as a means of solidifying the country, eradicating sectional prejudices, and breeding a great race of men devoted broadly to the upbuilding of the Republic.

And once again, when he had completed his service as President of the Constitutional Convention, and had retired to Mount Vernon to seek that rest and enjoyment in country life for which from his youth up he had longed, his countrymen demanded a still further service of him. Reluctantly, and with much misgiving as to his qualification for affairs of state, he consented at their call to serve as the first President of the United States, and to conduct the affairs of the new Republic in that first and formative period, on the direction of which the entire future of the nation

depended. He thus again relinquished his well-earned repose and gave up the care of personal affairs that sorely needed his supervision, to take weary burdens upon his tired soul. Yet his first official act as President was to ask Congress to make no appropriation for a salary for himself. He said to the House of Representatives in his Inaugural Address :

"When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department ; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require."

These acts of generous self-sacrifice in devotion to the public service were indicative of the lofty patriotism that inspired Washington's soul and guided his life. Yet they do not constitute the marrow of the matter. They are not in themselves the grounds upon which all mankind to-day stand ready to vote him into a supreme place in any Hall of Fame that may be established anywhere upon earth. Behind and beneath and above and beyond all of these acts of patriotic self-sacrifice was the wonderful character that gave them birth —a character which made the man great whether he willed to be great or not ; a character which exaltedly

inspired all his acts in every circumstance of life; a character which determined all his campaign plans and dictated the conduct of all his battles, the tenor of all his state papers, his attitude toward every man and every policy that had anything to do with the country's fortune or future.

To define such a character or to describe it must be the despair of any writer who essays the task. To suggest its salient points is perhaps less difficult. From the day of his birth to the day of his death it was always the resolute purpose of George Washington to do his full duty as God gave it to him to see his duty, without any regard whatsoever to personal consequences. Even that instinctive concern for his own credit with his countrymen, which troubles every public man upon occasion, did not restrain him from giving high command to Horatio Gates when the giving of such command seemed likely to promote the public interests, although Gates had been, within Washington's perfect knowledge, a prime mover in the Conway cabal for Washington's destruction. He believed it to be for the public interest to give this command to Gates, and he put aside every other impulse in that behalf. And when Gates disastrously failed before Camden, and was meditating suicide as the only way out of his military disgrace, it was Washington who wrote him a letter over which he wept like a child or a woman, because of its generosity and its tender, brotherly sympathy. Perhaps no other man who ever exercised military command would have been capable

of the great and unflinching generosity that Washington displayed in this case.

Again, after General Charles Lee had played Washington false, and, — as later-discovered documents have revealed, though Washington did not know that fact,—had deliberately negotiated with the enemy, for a treachery as infamous as Arnold's, Washington sought to soften to that personal enemy and mercenary traitor the wounds inflicted through his own agency in the peremptory exercise of duty. Still again, when Benedict Arnold had secured asylum in New York after his treason, and Washington sent Sergeant Champ on a perilous expedition for his recapture, the great fatherly chieftain had such regard for Arnold's previous and superb services that he gave peremptory orders that in no case was the traitor to be physically harmed; that rather than execute irregularly upon him that sentence of death which all mankind have always been agreed in assigning to the Judas Iscariot of the Revolution as his well-earned deserts, Sergeant Champ should himself suffer any hardship and accept any fate that might befall him.

And so in brief throughout. It was Washington's exalted character rather than the particular deeds through which that character manifested itself — the inspirations of his lofty soul rather than the mere achievements of his hand, though these were very great—that won for him his supreme place, not only in the regard of his countrymen but equally in the estimation of all enlightened men throughout this

earth of ours. He was great because he was great, and not merely because he had the good fortune to achieve great things.

This distinction cannot be too strongly emphasized in any just estimate of Washington's character and career. In every act and circumstance of his life, whether as son or husband or adopting father; whether as subordinate executing the will of another, or as commander demanding obedience at the hands of others; whether in commending and rewarding merit where he found it, or in censuring neglect of duty; whether in apportioning blame among the blameworthy, or taking it upon himself as a just meed — in all that he did or left undone, in all that he said or left unsaid, Washington's grandly rounded character was the controlling influence, the dominating force, the inspiration of his every act, the final answer to all questions concerning him.

It is that chiefly which so powerfully appeals to the minds and hearts of men in contemplating him as a figure in history. Other soldiers have planned and fought more brilliant campaigns than any that Washington conceived—unless we except the truly Napoleonic operation that he marked out and carried to completion for the destruction of Cornwallis and the practical end of the British power in America. Other statesmen, perhaps, have had a larger and firmer grasp than he upon the policies that must be pursued by great nations in the conduct of their affairs,—though that is doubtful,—but no man in all history ever brought to bear upon prob-

lems of generalship, or of statecraft, or of personal conduct, so lofty a purpose, so self-sacrificing a patriotism, so superb a common sense, or so unflinching a determination to do at every step the duty that lay before him without concern for consequences. As soldier, statesman, patriot, and man, he was by innate character the most perfect type of what God may be supposed to have intended that a man should be, that has ever yet been born upon this earth. And his life was the inescapable corollary of his character.

Unlike some other heroes of popular American adoration, Washington was born to high social place and to honorable name. There was nothing in his origin to serve as a foil to his achievements, nothing of that dramatic contrast in his life's story which so greatly emphasizes the things done and attained by Lincoln, Franklin, and some others. Washington was born to an inheritance of the best. When he came into being, on February 22, 1732, the country was still completely in a thraldom of aristocratic tradition, and George Washington was born an aristocrat of aristocrats. His family was peculiarly well descended and well connected. It was also well-to-do, measured by the standard of the time and country. The primrose path of idle and luxurious indulgence lay plain and open before him had he chosen to walk in it. Perhaps it is quite as great proof of his high quality of mind and character that he chose instead the thorny path of public service, the arduous life which he in fact led, as it is to the credit of others that, in spite of early

disadvantages, they raised themselves to eminence and honor. Surely he whose ambitions seem to be satisfied in advance by birth and early circumstance, but who puts aside personal ease and converts his inherited advantages into opportunities for strenuous, self-sacrificing public service, is deserving of quite all the honor we give to him who, born to poverty and obscurity, refuses to rest content with his birthright, and advances his own personal fortunes by similar devotion to high aims. It is as greatly to the credit of George Washington that he refused to live the easy, well-fed life of an aristocratic Virginia planter, and chose instead to do a strong man's share in the arduous work of his time, as it is to the credit of Lincoln or Franklin or any other that he resolutely raised himself out of that low estate in which he was born. In the one case equally with the other, the honor lies in the fact that the man concerned chose the higher life of strenuous and often painful endeavor instead of resting content, as the catechism puts it, "in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call him."

In Washington's case, the temptation to rest content was peculiarly great. A sufficient fortune, which needed only his attention to keep it sufficient, was his from the beginning. A home climate, as nearly perfect as any that exists on earth, the peculiarly pleasurable activity of that planter's life for which he always longed, and which he always reluctantly surrendered at the call of duty, the friendship of all about him who were well placed, including many of high birth and

even of title—everything, in short, that could tempt a man of his physical, mental, and moral nature to a self-indulgent life of dignified and honored ease presented itself to his mind in fullest force. His position in the community in which he lived was of the highest. His friends were the honored ones of earth in that time and country. All that there was of social pleasure was freely his to enjoy at will. All of honor that his neighbors or the authorities of his province could bestow upon any man was at his command. The planter life itself was peculiarly inviting to a man of his robust nature. It involved only so much of work as an active man of robust physique craves as a delight. It offered all of pleasure that a reasonable mind could desire—the chase, the magistracy, the lordship over broad acres, the best of social intercourse, that leisure which lends itself to culture, the opportunity for travel, the intimate friendship of those best worth knowing within his horizon—everything, in fact, that could tempt the mind to content and the soul to repose.

Yet at no time in his life did George Washington long remain in his little kingdom of Mount Vernon to enjoy these inherited opportunities of personal satisfaction. From his youth to the end of his life his years were given to hard work in distant fields, with only now and then a brief period of repose, a slender opportunity to look after his personal affairs—and all without compensation or recompense of any kind, save that "all-cloudless glory" of which Byron wrote.

But if Washington's birth and family and associa-

tions were aristocratic, his educational opportunities were as slender as those of any man whose career is commonly cited to us as typical of achievement under difficulty. He attended an "old field school," kept by one of his family's tenants, and later was, for a brief time, under another master, but he never had the benefit of instruction in any higher school. He learned from his rude masters so much of reading, writing, and arithmetic as a slenderly-educated teacher could impart to him, and at the age of fifteen even this instruction ceased. From his second master he had learned a little of geometry and of the practical field work of land surveying before he reached his sixteenth year. That was all of systematic education that George Washington ever had. "He never attempted the learned languages," says Irving, "nor manifested any inclination for rhetoric or belles-lettres."

One month after he attained the age of sixteen the active career of this remarkable man began. He was just sixteen years of age when Lord Fairfax sent him into the wilds of what was then the West, to survey his great possessions there. And to this commission was added the authority and duty of public surveyor. It was an arduous service, and one attended by much of hardship and no little danger. It was also, in the highest degree, a responsible service, involving as it did the vital interests not only of the great landed estates of the Fairfaxes, but also those of their tenants, those of the province, and those of a multitude of immigrants who were settling on the frontier. It was

such a service as is usually committed only to a man of mature years and ripe experience; yet so obvious were the qualifications of this mere boy for the work to be done that the task was confidently entrusted to him with the sanction of William and Mary College and of the colonial government. And so well did the lad discharge his duties that the records of his surveys remain to this day undisputed in their authority.

From the hour of this juvenile appointment Washington was looked upon not only as a fully grown man, but as a man of distinction and one specially qualified for difficult public service. At twenty, he was made chief executor of his dead brother's will, and placed in control of the affairs of a great estate. Two years earlier, at the age of eighteen, he had been appointed by the Royal Governor to be adjutant-general of his district, and charged with the perplexing duty of organizing the militia and placing Virginia in a state of defence, in preparation for that French and Indian war which was obviously impending, and which so soon afterward broke out.

At twenty-one Washington was selected by Governor Dinwiddie as the fittest man in all the province to head a mission to the Ohio country, charged with the delicate duty of winning the allegiance of the Indians there from the French, and, if possible, of persuading or compelling the French to abandon their claims in that quarter. It was a mission of the utmost difficulty and delicacy, as well as one of great danger,

and, as it proved, one involving almost incredible hardship to the youth who undertook it. Washington conducted it with such masterly discretion and courage, that from the hour of his return this youth of twenty-one was regarded by the authorities and people of the provinces as indisputably a foremost man in military skill, in diplomacy, and in statecraft. He was at once appointed—mere boy that he was—Commander-in-chief of Virginia's forces, and when, a little later, an army was organized for an expedition to the troubled Ohio country, Washington was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel, and placed second in command to an English officer of distinction. The death of his superior officer soon left the young man in complete charge of the difficult and perilous enterprise.

Again, when the trained soldier, Braddock, was sent out from England to lead an expedition against Fort Duquesne, Washington, though only twenty-three years of age, was made second only to him in military authority. And when Braddock's arrogant rejection of Washington's advice led to his disastrous defeat and death, it fell to young Washington to extricate the beaten and broken army from its perilous position. This he did so skilfully that when, a little later, a larger army was created for the defence of the frontier, Washington was, quite as a matter of course, placed in supreme command of it.

From the time of his first mission westward, Washington had insisted upon the reduction of Fort Duquesne as a necessity to the defence of all the western

border, and to the retention of any Virginian or English claim to dominion in that quarter. To that end Braddock's expedition had been directed, with disastrous incompetency, and it was reserved to Washington at last, in command of the advance guard of a later expedition, to plant the British flag over the ruins of the fort that had so long been a menace to all English interests west of the Alleghanies.

He was then only twenty-six years of age, yet he was everywhere recognized as the ablest military commander in the colonies, one well fitted to instruct, in the art of border war, the trained officers sent out from England, had they been willing to learn of him as of the master that he was.

During his absence on this last western campaign, the people of his district had chosen young Washington over three competitors to represent them in the House of Burgesses although he had declined to avail himself of a permit to go home and look after his political interests. He had scarcely settled himself at Mount Vernon with his newly wedded wife, after resigning his military commission with intent thereafter to lead the planter life that he so greatly loved, when he was summoned to Williamsburg to attend a session of the Legislature. On his first appearance in the Legislature there occurred one of the most interesting events in his career, illustrating in an extraordinary way the extent of the admiration this mere youth had won from his countrymen. The House had, by a unanimous vote, instructed its Speaker

to welcome young Washington publicly and in the most conspicuous way he could. When Washington, knowing nothing of the honor planned for him, entered the legislative hall to take his seat, the Speaker arose, and, in the name of the Colony, presented thanks to Washington for his brilliant military services, in an address so warmly eulogistic that, for the only time in his life, George Washington lost his self-control and fell into confusion of mind. Stunned and bewildered by the extraordinary welcome extended to him, he stammered helplessly in an effort to make reply. It was said by one who was present on that occasion that he "could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable." The Speaker came to his rescue most masterfully. He called out: "Sit down, Mr. Washington! Your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

Is it any wonder that a man who, at so early an age, had won such recognition for high character and distinguished soldiership, should have been kept busy for the rest of his life in answering the calls of his countrymen to high service? Is it surprising that when, at last, the country accepted war with England as an inevitable necessity, this man, now in his maturity, was chosen by the common voice to be "Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raised," for the defence of American liberty? And considering the well-nigh incredibly discreet way in which he conducted the war for independence to a successful conclusion, in spite of meagre means, in spite of a divided loyalty

on the part of the people, in spite of treachery and treason among his subordinates, in spite of confused counsel in a Congress that lacked power to provide for even the most imperative needs—considering, in short, the wonder-story of George Washington's achievements in the Revolutionary War, was it not quite inevitable that his countrymen should look to him for guidance when they decided to make an experiment in government such as had never been made before in all history? And is there occasion for surprise in the fact that, in spite of a divided and discordant Cabinet, in spite of those sectional and social jealousies that had so greatly disturbed him during the Revolutionary War, and, above all, in spite of the feeble uncertainty of the public mind, he succeeded, during eight years of sore soul-travail, in setting this Republic on its feet and laying securely the foundations upon which has been built the greatest, freest, strongest, and in human affairs the most significant nation of which the history of mankind furnishes any record or takes any account?

Not any of the glory that halos the name of George Washington is less than fully deserved. Not any of the adoration that is given to his character is in the least degree extravagant or excessive. Of him—absolutely alone among mankind—may we prudently speak in unrestrained superlatives. He was, beyond all question, the greatest man that God ever gave to a deserving or undeserving world.

The story of his campaigns need not be recounted

here. It is a commonplace of education. It would be equally a waste of space to tell, in this essay, of his eight years of civil administration as President. That, also, is a story familiar to every tolerably well-instructed boy in our public schools.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

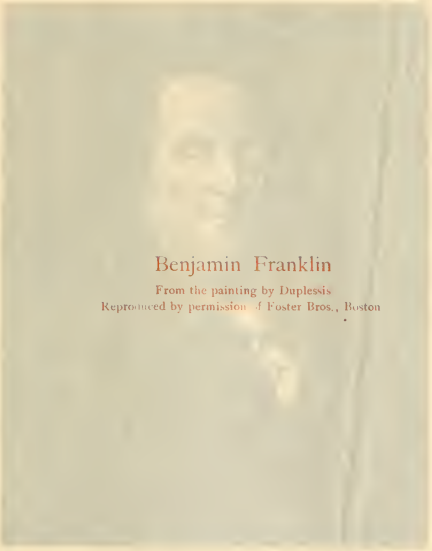
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was the apostle of Common Sense. In his life, in all his work, in his dealings with men and measures, in his attitude toward women and marriage, and even in his attitude toward himself, he made common sense always the dominant note, the controlling influence, the guiding principle of his every word, and act, and thought. To this sole god of his adoration he stood ready always to make sacrifice of his dignity, his interests, and his dearest desires. To it, as to a court of last resort, he made his final appeal in every case. To it he referred every question that arose in his mind, and from the judgments of common sense he permitted no exception to be taken by sentiment.

This rule of life he applied equally in science, philosophy, statecraft, diplomacy, and personal affairs, and in every case he unflinchingly abided by the results. In some instances his loyalty to common sense was manifested with a whimsical humor almost grotesque in its exaggeration and perversity. For example, he tells us that at one time, freethinker that he was,

he regularly attended a church and contributed liberally to its support, because the minister of it preached sermons that intellectually interested and morally stimulated him. Presently, some pestilently knowing brother found out and proved that the minister was preaching sermons not his own, "cribbing" them from some old book, written by some old divine. In consequence, the clergyman was dismissed from his pastorate and another installed in his stead. This other preached sermons that were his own, and Franklin found them dull, whereupon he ceased to attend the church, though he continued to contribute to its support. He ceased to attend upon the ground that he preferred a clergyman clever enough to purloin good sermons, and preach them attractively, to one stupid enough to deliver dull discourses of his own instead.

There was here, perhaps, a failure of moral perception on Franklin's part, unless we accept his statement of the affair as a grim jest,—just as in another case there was a curious failure on his part to recognize military proprieties.

In that other case he found himself in command of a military post, with a military rank of which any other man would have been jealously mindful. Presently there joined him a man with no military rank at all, but possessed of a military training and a military experience which Franklin had not. Instantly Franklin issued to this man a commission, and turned over the command to him upon the simple common-sense



Benjamin Franklin

From the painting by Duplessis
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ground that, as there was military work to be done, this trained military man was fitter than himself to carry it to success. The proceeding was extremely irregular, of course, and in a well-organized army it might have drawn Franklin into difficulty with a court-martial. But at any rate it was an exhibition of exalted common sense and of the lofty patriotism that seeks public results rather than personal honors and dignities.

In precisely the same way, when European scientists, engaged in a study of electricity, sent out an invocation for his help, and with it some apparatus, carefully prepared according to the ill-informed textbooks of that time, Franklin threw aside the apparatus and devised simple, common-sense appliances of his own for testing the question at issue—which was whether or not a flash of lightning, is in simple fact, an electrical discharge; and, with his common-sense devices he settled that question for all time, with the invention of the lightning-rod as a corollary to his discovery. He, also, by equally simple devices, finished the work of discriminating between positive and negative electricity, traced, for the first time, the path of storms across this continent, thus making the work of our modern meteorologists possible, and pointed out those peculiarities of the Gulf Stream, the knowledge of which has made the thermometer ever since a ship-saving and life-saving instrument of navigation in the approach of ships to the American coast.

Poor Richard's Almanac, the work upon which

Franklin's literary and popular fame chiefly rests, consisted, in its literary part, simply of a setting down of common sense on paper.

Here, indeed, Franklin's common sense sometimes betrayed itself into indiscretions that are hurtful rather than helpful to the fame of the author. His maxims were worldly wise in an extreme degree—so worldly wise, indeed, as now and then to impress a sensitive mind as almost sordid.

They were maxims pointing the way to success with accuracy and certainty, it is true, but the success to which the way was pointed was always material in its character, and nearly always had reference to the getting of money or its equivalent. There is much in *Poor Richard* to inspire industry, thrift, economy, and the like, with an eye to the personal welfare of the man practising the precepts. There is very little, indeed, to inspire the higher wisdom of self-sacrifice or to teach the nobler lesson that there are objects in life of greater value than gain,—purposes that should be preferred to personal prosperity.

Yet it is certain that Franklin was not insensible to these higher ideals. His life was a long one, and the greater part of it was devoted in a grandly self-sacrificing way to the service of his country—a service that cost him very much of personal inconvenience and discomfort at a time of life when personal ease and comfort are apt to mean much to a man. Is it not possible that Franklin had, in fact, much more of that sentiment which his common sense rejected and his

humor ridiculed than he was willing to admit, even to himself?

Yet there was certainly a regrettable lack of sentiment in his make-up. He fell in love, while yet scarcely more than a lad, with Deborah Read, the lady who afterwards became his wife. He engaged to marry her, and went away on a voyage to London to secure the means of setting up a printing-office in Philadelphia. Presumably sentiment toward her constituted a part of his impulse in this venture. But when he reached London and found that his Philadelphia patron's promises of money and credit for his enterprise were so much breath and nothing more, he wrote only one letter to his sweetheart, in which he told her, with no great show of emotion, that he was likely to be detained in London for an indefinite time, and, during the year and a half of his stay there, he never wrote to the girl again, or in any other way manifested any tenderness of sentiment or sympathy towards her. It seems never to have occurred to him that she might be suffering a distress of mind which a loving letter from him would relieve. He seems, on his own part, to have accepted the dissolution of their marriage engagement quite as a matter of course and a thing of no particular consequence, just as he might have accepted the fact that a change of residence rendered it necessary to cancel an engagement for the employment of a servant or a housekeeper.

It is true that he afterwards married this woman and lived with her as his wife for forty-four years.

But his neglect of her during and for years after this first London trip, and his extraordinary lack of sentiment when his god, Common Sense, decreed their separation, had meantime driven her into marriage with a worthless fellow, who soon deserted her and not long afterward died. Six years after Franklin so indifferently dismissed her and turned from love of her to the delights of London life, he found her a widow and married her. Apparently they lived together in a common-sense sort of happiness during the forty-four years of their married life, and when he came to die, Franklin manifested a certain tender sentiment towards this devoted wife by directing that his body should be interred by the side of hers, under a single slab, bearing the simple inscription of their names—"Benjamin and Deborah Franklin." But, during the long years that he spent in London after their marriage as agent of the colonies, contending with great ministers of State for the rights of the American people, and reaping a rich harvest of honors from great universities and world-famous learned societies, that eagerly vied with each other in heaping honors upon him, it seems never to have occurred to Franklin to summon this loyal and loving wife to his side, to share with him the glory of his recognition. She died in 1774, before that era of Franklin's greatest honor when, as the diplomatic representative of the young Republic, he literally "stood before kings," the most honored diplomat in the world, the most highly esteemed scientific investigator, enjoying a universal homage such as has been

paid to no other man who has lived in this country of ours. Honors were showered upon him by kings and exalted dignitaries, who gave attentive heed to his words of counsel. Learned societies besought him to lend them his name. Financiers furnished millions of money to the still struggling Republic upon his simple representations. At every social function grand dames and courtly gentlemen struggled with each other for the honor of a word of recognition from him. The very shopkeepers of Paris left their customers to wait while they went to their doors to make obeisance when Franklin went by. The gamins of the Paris streets stood aside in a reverence wholly unwonted to them when he appeared, and doffed their head-gear to him, when they happened to have any head-gear to doff.

Deborah Franklin was in her grave before these glories came upon her husband. Let us try to believe that had she lived till that time Franklin would have summoned her to his side to share in their enjoyment, though he did not offer her a share in that earlier glory of his London life.

Yet it seems doubtful that he would have done so, in view of what he himself has revealed to us of his attitude toward the woman he made his wife. He tells us in his autobiography that after his first stay of eighteen months in London, during which time he had written to Miss Read only his one cold letter of dismissal, he returned to Philadelphia and presently set up a printing-house of his own. He renewed friendly

relations with the Reads, but in no way sought to renew his closer relations with Deborah, now the widow of the dissolute fellow whom Franklin's neglect had prompted her in a mood of vexed desperation to marry. Six years passed before he thought of that, and then he thought of it only as a matter of expediency and common sense. He had, meantime, made love, in a way, to the daughter of a man who rented a part of his house. But when the question of marriage with that young woman arose, Franklin made up his mind to make marriage "pay," as we say in our time. He demanded as a dowry with his bride, a sum of money sufficient to discharge the debt that he still owed upon his printing-house. That being refused, he broke off the negotiations and declined afterwards to consider the proposals pressed upon him for their renewal.

But he tells us in his singularly candid autobiography that this incident turned his thoughts again toward marriage as a practically desirable arrangement, and upon the grossest grounds of prudence and personal expediency, which he unhesitatingly sets forth in his account of himself, but which may not be reported here because of their lack of delicacy, he decided to take a wife. Knowing nobody more readily available for this purpose, he decided to renew the old engagement with the widow who had been Miss Read, and he thus married the sweetheart of his youth. It is a cold-blooded and rather repulsive story, as Franklin himself related it in his old-age chronicle, and it

presents his contemptuous lack of sentiment in a scarcely less than shocking light.

Nevertheless, Franklin had sentiment. When Braddock was stopped in his campaign for want of wagons, Franklin not only undertook to supply them at cost of great labor and without a cent of profit to himself, but, in the process of doing so, spent a small fortune of his own money, which he afterwards and with difficulty got back only in part—all for patriotism. Whenever, in Philadelphia, a public need was to be served, Franklin freely spent his time and money, and all his ingenuity in serving it. In this way he created the first charity hospital in America and the first fire-company, established the University of Pennsylvania, founded one of the most notable learned societies in this republic, created the first great circulating library in the land, and, throughout a long lifetime, lent himself, his genius, his money, his industry, his time, and whatever else was his, to the service of his country and his fellow-men, under an impulse of purely sentimental patriotism and public spirit.

It seems, therefore, that this man, so strangely lacking in passion and sentiment, so far as personal concerns were involved, was possessed of an exalted and inspiring sentiment of patriotism. And for the country it was well that his sentiment took such direction. For certainly no man except Washington did more than he to achieve that independence which made possible and actual this foremost republic of which history takes account, this greatest nation that

ever existed in the world. Patriotism was his one passion, and yet at one time, when he was the agent of the colonies at London, Franklin brought himself under grave suspicion of a lack of that impulse, by his excessive earnestness in behalf of a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country—he even going so far as to urge that the colony of Massachusetts should pay for the tea dumped into Boston harbor by the celebrated "tea party."

Better perhaps than any other man, even in this land of self-made men, Franklin, in his career and achievements, illustrated certain truths that cannot be too strongly impressed upon youths whose educational opportunities are meagre. The first is, that he who has learned to read has in his hands the master key to all doors that lead to learning. The second is, that every man who is educated at all is self-educated; schools, colleges, and universities render incalculable assistance in the work of self-education, but in the last analysis the man who would be educated must educate himself, and there is no limit to the possibilities of achievement in that way.

Franklin had, if that be possible, even slenderer school opportunities than Lincoln enjoyed. He quitted his masters at ten years of age, after a scant two years of attendance upon a horn-book school. He never had another hour's tuition at the hands of any master, yet as journalist, writer, philosopher, statesman, original scientific investigator, diplomatist, and thinker, he achieved a position that might well have

been envied by any highly educated specialist in any one of these departments of learning or endeavor. So great was the fame of his learning that, in spite of his colonial residence, in spite of three thousand miles of ocean over which no steamer pushed her prow and under which no cable flashed intelligence, in spite of prejudice, and in spite of the lack of community of thought and sympathy between Europe and America, this man of no schooling was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Great Britain and a member of every learned society in Europe, while the universities of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Oxford rivalled each other in their eagerness to confer upon him those honorary degrees that crown learning and scholarly achievement with academic recognition. In the meantime, as has been already related, Franklin had founded an institute that is still everywhere recognized as a learned society of high authority, and a university that ranks to-day with the foremost in this or any other country.

These were his lesser achievements, however. Science and literature and learning were to him avocations rather than vocations. They were his intellectual amusements and pastimes, while the labors of statecraft and diplomacy, and his great share in the creation of this republic of ours, constituted the serious business of his long life.

Franklin was three score years and ten of age when he signed the Declaration of Independence. He had reached a time of life when he was entitled to seek rest from his labors and leave to other and younger

men the completion of the great task of nation-building to which he had already so grandly contributed. But he faltered not nor failed. Old man that he was, he cheerfully took up the new and very arduous labors that the birth of the Republic rendered necessary. All that wonderful career of diplomacy in which he won courts to his will and compelled kings and great ministers of State to his purpose lay later in his life than the period fixed upon by the psalmist as the limit of human activity. It was as a man of advanced age that he did his greatest work—greatest in its influence upon his country's future, greatest in that illustration of his genius upon which his fame securely rests. It was this old man who persuaded the King of France to an alliance with the new-born republic. It was he who, on the scant and uncertain credit of a confederacy of revolting colonies, without authority to levy a tax or power to enforce a decree, succeeded in borrowing those millions without which the American armies must have been disbanded and the American struggle for independence must have gone down to an inglorious grave, to be reckoned thenceforth and forever one of the worst and most disastrous blunders recorded in all history.

In brief, it is not too much to say that, next to Washington, this old man, Benjamin Franklin, did more than any other to achieve American independence and make our republic possible. And the greater part of this he did after he had passed his three score years and ten.

It is not extravagant to say that Franklin, first of all Americans, conceived the thought of what this country must be, and under what form of government the States must ally themselves if the confederation was ever to become a great, free, and self-respecting nation. As early as 1754 he brought forward and strongly urged a scheme for the close union of the thirteen colonies under a general government, empowered to lay taxes, make treaties, and do whatever else might concern the public weal, while leaving the several colonies free to legislate, according to their own good pleasure, upon all matters of purely local concern. His plan was, in all essential particulars, identical with the present Constitution of the United States. But the colonies were not then ready to accept it. They were so far jealous of their individuality that even when the strenuous conflict for independence came, they could not be persuaded to vest any adequate powers in the loosely constituted central government of the confederation, and, by consequence, from beginning to end of the Revolutionary War, they were beset by difficulties and dangers of the gravest character, every one of which they would have escaped if Franklin's scheme of a union, instead of a mere confederacy, had been adopted. And when at last, after the war was over and independence achieved, the necessity for "a more perfect union" was pressed home to all enlightened minds by daily and disastrous experience, the great convention which, under Washington's guidance, finally framed the Federal

constitution, could do no better or more wisely than adopt in substance the scheme which Franklin had wrought out and urged upon acceptance a third of a century before.

Franklin was born in Boston, 17 January, 1706. He was the son of a poor tallow-chandler, the youngest son and the fifteenth child in a family of seventeen. There lay in such circumstances small chance of a bringing up or education to anything better than the commonest kind of manual labor, such as men with dwarfed and undeveloped brains may do as well as any others. Franklin's father did indeed at one time plan to send the gifted boy to Harvard College and have him trained for the Ministry. Fortunately, the father could not afford the expense. Fortunately, we say, because, with his inquiring, sceptical turn of mind, Benjamin Franklin as a clergyman would have upset New England thought long before the time arrived for such upsetting to be safe and wholesome; and fortunately, too, because his training for the ministry in the theological schools of that dark age would almost certainly have unfitted Benjamin Franklin for the broadly liberal intellectual work that he was destined and fitted by the peculiar qualities of his mind and character to do, and for his great doing of which, his country and all mankind are beyond measure indebted to him.

As has been said already, Franklin had a scant two years of schooling, and at ten years of age he went to work cutting wicks and filling candle-moulds in his

father's little shop. Never afterwards did he have an hour's instruction. But at ten years of age he had learned how to read, and with that open sesame to all the arcana of knowledge in his possession, he made himself in the end the most thoroughly and variedly educated man of his generation. Throughout life he was a reader with an omnivorous and insatiable intellectual appetite. He made himself familiar with all of literature upon which he could lay his hand, not only in English but in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish also—for he taught himself all those languages as he taught himself all that was then known of physical science, and of whatever else might minister to his unquenchable thirst for knowledge.

He soon quitted the chandlery and became apprentice to his brother, a printer. In this position he learned the twin trades of compositor and pressman, learning both so thoroughly that a few years later, when he was in London, he was able to teach the best printers there much that they neither knew nor dreamed of about their art. And he learned something else during this apprenticeship—something of vastly greater consequence to the world if not to himself, than any skill in printing could be. He learned how to write with that trenchant vigor, that extraordinary simplicity and directness, and that singular lucidity of statement and aptness of illustration, which gave to his writings throughout life a persuasive influence scarcely parallelled in his time and country.

Whatever Franklin did he did in a superior fashion, whether it was mechanical or intellectual, scientific or commonplace, literary or of homely domestic character. The printer's devil, who set more type and set them better than any journeyman in the shop could do, was also able to write the strongest papers that appeared in his brother's newspaper, and, surreptitiously securing the acceptance of these his essays, he had the pleasure of hearing them attributed by the pundits of the town to the leading minds in the colonies.

But Franklin was a man not born to submit himself to servitude. He quickly quarrelled with his brother, broke his indentures at the time when he was capable of rendering the best service to his fraternal master, and ran away to Philadelphia, where, all unknown to him, his great career awaited him. Years afterward he made abundant amends to his brother for the time and service he had filched from him, and the brother was more than satisfied.

Franklin quickly made a place for himself in Philadelphia, by reason of his superior skill in his trade, his extraordinary alertness of mind, the gentle courtesy of his manners, his singular grasp of questions of public import, his resolute self-discipline, his uprightness and sincerity, and his manifest ability to take care of himself.

He was still scarcely more than a boy when, deluded by the golden promises of the charlatan governor of the province, he went to London, as already related, to buy a printing outfit, and found himself

stranded there without money or friends or credit of any kind.

It was a year and a half before he returned, but when he did so he begun that extraordinary career of diversified public service which ended only with his life. As clerk of the Legislature, and afterwards for many years a commandingly influential member of that body, he impressed himself mightily upon the public policies of the period; as a delegate to the successive continental congresses, he was even more influential in directing the thought of that troubled time. As postmaster-general for the colonies, he brought order out of chaos, and in simple fact created that system of mail service which, developing with increasing facilities, has become one of the wonders of our modern time. As the editor of an influential newspaper, as a forceful and very daring pamphleteer, and still more as a shrewd organizer of popular sentiment for the accomplishment of desirable ends, he was all this while the most potent intellectual force in Pennsylvania or in any of the colonies. By a wily use of his common sense he instituted the paving of streets in Philadelphia, just as in London he had first taught men the possibility and the desirability of street-cleaning. His services in establishing a public library, a hospital, a fire-extinguishing service, a learned society, and a university of world-wide repute, have already been sufficiently mentioned for the purposes of this paper.

So also have been his services in electrical, meteorological, and marine science. It is worth while to add

to the chronicle of these achievements the fact that when that association which is supreme in France, so far as scientific research is concerned, decided to investigate the pretensions of Mesmer and his hypnotic performances, it was the untrained American, Benjamin Franklin, who had never had a lesson in science in all his life, to whom, chiefly, the task of making the searching inquiry was delegated.

When the troubled times of Revolution came—when the stupidity of Lord North and the unteachable arrogance of George III. had made compromise and reconciliation clearly impossible, Franklin's functions as agent of the colonies in London were manifestly at an end, and he returned to his native land in time to serve in the Congress which put forth the Declaration of Independence as the great charter of American liberty.

A little later followed that period of splendid diplomatic service, during which Franklin made France our ally, secured for his country the money necessary for the carrying on of the war, and at last laid the firm foundations of that final treaty of peace with Great Britain which ended the war and made American Independence an accomplished fact. In all this extraordinary diplomatic work, Franklin's guiding principle at every step was that masterful Common Sense which we have spoken of as the keynote of his character. Not only did he govern himself by it, but in all his negotiations he appealed to it in the minds of princes, potentates, and ministers of State, as to a principle

that even the wiliest state craft could not blink or dodge, or in any other way escape.

All this while Franklin was growing old. He was nearly eighty years of age when he negotiated with Prussia the treaty which, first of all conventions between civilized nations, contained a provision looking to the abolition of that species of piracy known as "privateering."

Having brilliantly completed the great diplomatic work that had occupied his energies for so many years, the old man, now in his eightieth year, besought the Congress of his grateful country to release him and let him come home for the rest that he had so nobly earned.

He came back in 1785, but there was no rest for him yet from public service. He was immediately chosen President of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected to that arduous post in 1786 and 1787. Then came the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, under which the Republic has grown so great. Franklin was made a member of that august body, and the work of his life was fitly crowned when the convention adopted and the States ratified a system of Federal government substantially identical with that which he had devised and urged thirty-three years before.

In 1790 Franklin died, full of years and full of honors. His labors of a public character, and for the benefit of the country and of humanity, continued to the end. It was only four weeks before his death that he put

forth one of the strongest, wittiest, and most convincing of those polemic pamphlets which had been his favorite weapon of debate throughout his life.

The country has had no wiser man than Benjamin Franklin among its sons, and certainly it has had none who rendered more, or more willing, or more effective service to the land of his birth and to the liberty that he so greatly loved.



JOHN ADAMS

IN his character, in his mind, and in his career, John Adams was a far less picturesque personage than some of those great contemporaries of his with whom he wrought mightily in the work of building this nation. He was a type of that sturdy patriotism, that unflinching courage, and that solid ability which contributed perhaps quite as much to the work that was done in the Revolution and in the formative period of our Government, as did the more brilliant qualities of other men.

He was a sound lawyer, thoroughly trained, and he shared with such men as Jefferson, John Jay, and John Marshall, an abiding faith in the absolute and ultimate righteousness of those fundamental principles upon which the law of all English-speaking peoples is founded.

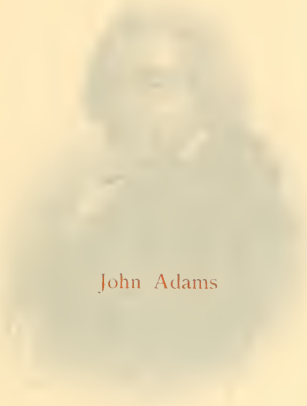
He was a man of unusual intellectual courage. He was one of the very first among the revolutionary group to perceive clearly that reconciliation between the colonies and Great Britain was hopelessly impossible, and from the very moment that he perceived this,

he resolutely opposed petitions and the other lame devices of the time for patching up a peace "where there is no peace," as Patrick Henry phrased it.

In the same way, this upright, downright, honest, truth-telling man introduced new methods into diplomacy when he was sent to Europe as one of the ministers of the new Republic. He went straight at his object in every case and frankly set forth what he wanted. He told the truth, to the surprise of the Count de Vergennes, and of that wily diplomat's representative at The Hague. He had an abiding contempt for shams and false pretences. He hated a lie with all the intensity of a strong and honest nature. He loved the truth because it was the truth, and quite irrespective of any advantage that might be gained by the telling of it.

Like the other great men of that time, John Adams sacrificed much of personal prosperity and gain to the public service. Like them he gave up ease and comfort, absenting himself for years from the joys of that family life which he loved, and denying himself associations and intellectual pursuits which were very dear to him, in order that he might answer the call of his country to public duty. His contribution to that service was one of the most conspicuous and most lastingly valuable rendered by any man of his time.

John Adams was born in 1735, the son of a prosperous small farmer. Unlike Washington, he had the advantage of a systematic academic training, and he was graduated from Harvard College in 1755. A few



John Adams



John Adams

years later he entered upon the practice of the law, gaining recognition rather for solid ability and sound learning in his profession than for any particular brilliancy of genius. Like Franklin and Jefferson, he held religion in high respect, but believed little in the dogmas of theology. He actively rejected the authority of church in any form, as they also did. He had been educated for the pulpit, but his state of mind clearly unfitted him for that vocation. That was a time when authority was everything in religion, and Adams utterly rejected authority. One of his biographers quotes him as asking: "Where do we find a precept in the Gospel requiring ecclesiastical synods, convocations, councils, decrees, creeds, confessions, oaths, subscriptions, and whole cartloads of other trumpery that we find religion encumbered with, in these days?" Clearly, the law offered a fitter career for a young man thus inquiringly minded than the ministry did, in that aggressively polemic age.

Adams's interest in public affairs began early and lasted until his death. Braddock's defeat affected him painfully. He foresaw and foresaid that the future of this country must depend upon its success in securing liberty to expand westward of the Alleghanies, and even to the Mississippi, which was then the Ultima Thule of ambitious imaginings in the way of national grandeur. He boldly predicted what has come to pass, namely, that with this liberty to extend English-speaking civilization westward, our numbers would in another century exceed those of Great Britain herself,

a prediction which has been fulfilled twice over and more.

A little later there came that series of aggressions upon the rights and liberties of the people of the colonies which resulted ultimately in the revolution and in independence. From the very first, Adams was strongly and outspokenly on the right side. Against the Stamp Act, against the writs of assistance, against any and every aggression, his patriotism was at once angry and insistent. As early as 1761, he heard James Otis deliver his splendid diatribe against British aggressions, and in his old age he wrote of that occasion, "every man of an immense, crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child, Independence, was born."

When the Stamp Act was passed and the superior courts refused to wink at its violation as the inferior courts had done, John Adams was quite naturally chosen one of the advocates to conduct the appeal against that injustice, and from the first—he delivering the opening argument—he took the bold ground that the Act was in itself null and void, by reason of its violation of the fundamental principles of English liberty. He then asserted as a principle that doctrine, which was afterwards embodied in the Declaration of Independence, that there could be no just or legal taxation without the representation of the people taxed

in the legislative body that assumed to tax them. Though less startlingly presented, his point was identically the same as that which Jefferson made when he declared that the Virginia Legislature had as clear a right to pass laws for the taxation of men in England as the British Parliament had to enact laws for the taxation of men in Virginia.

Adams busied himself, also, at that time in writing for the public prints, in advocacy of those principles of liberty which he held so near to his heart. Writing, in those days, either in the public prints or in the form of pamphlets, was an unremunerated occupation, but it was, at the same time, one of the most effective means open to any man of impressing his thought upon the community and stirring men to action. Adams made free use of it throughout his life, just as Franklin did.

In this and other ways, he made himself so dangerous an antagonist to British aggression that the royal authority in the colony of Massachusetts thought to buy him off. To that end, it offered him a lucrative office in the line of his profession, the acceptance of which must have silenced him as an opponent of the pretensions of the crown. Adams quite clearly understood what the bait meant and refused it.

From that time forward, Adams's activity in behalf of American liberty—as speaker, writer, legislator, legal adviser, and plain patriot—was incessant. It is not the purpose of the present essay to enter into any detailed account of the proceedings which thus brought

him more and more to the attention of his countrymen as a leader in that revolutionary movement which was presently to culminate in war. In the first Continental Congress, Adams made himself at once the leader of those who stood for colonial rights against the aggressions of the British Parliament, the British Ministry, and the British Administration in this country. That Congress was called for the sole purpose of protesting against these wrongs. And it was John Adams who drew the resolutions of protest, and advocated them with no shadow of fear or hesitation, and with no hint of a disposition to compromise any right of the Americans, though at that time, and in that body, there were strenuous advocates of compromise, and the fear was great that extreme measures might provoke disastrous retaliation. Adams had already made up his mind that a longer continuance of the colonies in a state of dependence upon Great Britain meant and could mean nothing less than a sacrifice of liberty. He was already, in 1774, an earnest advocate of absolute independence, and of bloody war as a means of securing it, if that should be necessary. To this end, he filled the public prints with essays that still live and still reflect the most advanced sentiments of his time.

His printed utterances were fearless in the extreme. They were daring almost to desperation in the boldness of their contentions. They were the work of a man whose patriotism asked no favors and shrank from no possible retribution.

When the second Continental Congress assembled, Mr. Adams was recognized as one of the foremost men of New England, and New England had already put an army into the field to besiege the British in Boston. Believing, as he did, firmly and unflinchingly that the time had come when, in Patrick Henry's language, "We must fight," and "There is no election," he moved the appointment of George Washington to be "Commander-in-chief of all the armies raised, and to be raised" in defence of American Liberty.

This was in every way a wise and politic thing for him to do. Washington was, without doubt or question, the one commander fit to conduct a war so unequal and to bring it to a happy conclusion. But not only so; there were jealousies and bickerings, and grave distrusts between the several colonies that tended to disturb that harmony among them which was so imperatively necessary to the success of their struggle, and nothing could have gone further to allay those jealousies, to silence those bickerings, and to remove those distrusts, than for John Adams, the representative of Massachusetts and the foremost man of New England, to move this selection of George Washington, the chosen hero of Virginia, as the commander of those forces which were first of all to rescue Boston and afterwards to free the country of its yoke. It is probable that Washington would have been made Commander-in-chief upon the motion of someone else if Adams had not thus taken the initiative, but it is

conceivable, at least, that some other and less fortunate choice might have been made. In any case, it is certain that, in thus nominating Washington for the command and securing his appointment, John Adams rendered to the country a service that has rarely been matched. For had any other than a conspicuous New England delegate so nominated him, the jealousies and sectional prejudices which were then so dangerous would not have been allayed in anything like the same degree in which his action accomplished that purpose.

It would require greatly more space than that which is proper to this paper to recount the multifarious services of Adams at this time. Like Washington, and Jefferson, and Franklin, he was everywhere present where there was duty to do. Even while serving in the Continental Congress he served also in his State's Legislature, in local councils, and especially in that revolutionary body organized in Massachusetts to take possession of government there, and thus practically to declare the independence of the colony. About this time he was appointed to the office of Chief-Justice, but wisely omitted to take his seat, for, learned in the law as he was, John Adams was of radical intellectual tendency, had an uncommonly caustic habit of utterance, and was in other ways less fitted for the calm deliberations of the bench, than for the intellectual conflicts of the senate, the bar, and the public press.

In the spring of 1776, Mr. Adams secured the passage of an Act of Congress recommending all the

colonies to form governments for themselves, independent of those thrust upon them by the British ministry. Into the preamble with which he introduced this resolution, Mr. Adams put in fact a declaration of independence. That preamble declared unequivocally that the American people could no longer give allegiance to any government deriving its authority from a royal decree; that the king had withdrawn his protection from the colonies, and that the people of the colonies must therefore look out for themselves.

In June of that year, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved in Congress that a formal declaration be made of the absolute independence of the colonies, and of their right to be recognized as free and independent States. John Adams seconded this resolution, and when it came to debate a few weeks later he championed it through Congress, leading the debate in the absence of Mr. Lee. Thus were Virginia and Massachusetts—the leading Southern and Northern colonies in influence—brought together to act for independence with a force then irresistible in the colonies. For these two were everywhere recognized as dominant among the newly forming States. Their public men were everywhere looked to for counsel and guidance. Even South Carolina, with the almost matchless John Rutledge for her chief representative, made her bow to Virginia and Massachusetts as the acknowledged leaders in the Revolution. It was a happy coincidence that a chief among Virginians and a chief among the representatives of Massachusetts

should thus be associated in the advocacy of this final decisive act of revolt and revolution, just as it was a fortunate thing that the nomination of George Washington to be Commander-in-chief of the revolutionary armies had come more than a year before, not from a Virginian, or from any man of the Middle States, but from John Adams, a representative of Massachusetts and of that sentiment which had led New England to put an army of sixteen thousand men into the field for the purpose of driving the British out of their capital, Boston.

Before the Declaration of Independence was finally signed, Congress created a Board of War and Ordnance, designed to provide the military ways and means necessary for the now inevitable conflict, and John Adams served as its chairman till after that splendid achievement of American arms, the capture of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga.

At this time, the British representatives in America were busying themselves with belated and futile attempts at reconciliation. These were conducted with every device of deception that wily ingenuity could invent, and often by means that closely resembled the attempted corruption of American officers. Many men in Congress and out of it—still cherishing that hope which Adams had long ago abandoned, that reconciliation might even yet be possible — were deceived by these manœuvres. Not so John Adams. Like Patrick Henry of Virginia, and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, he steadfastly opposed every negotia-

tion of the sort, as insincere, delusive, and likely to be fruitful of harm. Nevertheless, Adams was usually appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate in every such case, and it was fortunate that this was so, because his sagacity always penetrated the purpose of the enemy and baffled it, and because, when it was baffled, his shrewdness of speech was potent to reconcile others to the abandonment of the futile endeavor.

It was in recognition of these qualities that Adams was chosen in 1777 to replace Silas Deane as the representative of the United States in France. His sagacity, his diplomatic skill, and his unfaltering patriotism specially fitted him to deal with the problems presented there. Before his arrival in France in 1778 the alliance between the most arbitrary and despotic of European kings and the most aggressively liberty-asserting of all republics had been formed. But Adams from the first and almost alone saw through the shams that lay behind this alliance. He quite well understood that it was self-interest and not a love of liberty which prompted the French King to lend aid to the colonies in their effort to separate this great imperial domain of ours from British rule and British influence. He saw clearly that the aid of France was never likely to go beyond this selfish purpose. But at this time Adams's diplomatic service was brief. He found and corrected great abuses in the management of American affairs in Europe, and himself recommended the dissolution of that triumvirate—consisting of himself, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee—which then had

charge of the Republic's interests at Paris. Under his advice, Arthur Lee was sent to Madrid, Franklin was left sole Minister at Paris, and Adams himself was called home.

A little later he was sent again to Paris as a commissioner to treat for peace with Great Britain. It was then that his shrewd judgment of men and their motives, and his wily caution rendered the public of the United States one of the greatest services recorded in his career. He profoundly distrusted the Count de Vergennes, and he shrewdly penetrated that unscrupulous minister's designs. He saw clearly that it was no part of Vergennes's purpose to permit a treaty of peace, or even to allow him to suggest such a treaty to the British Government. Vergennes did not understand and could not believe that any treaty made at that time could result otherwise than in some form of reconciliation and re-union between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. His purpose being the weakening and, if possible, the destruction of the British power, he was bent upon it that no such reconciliation should occur. He little understood Adams's attitude or that of the Congress that had sent him abroad to seek peace, with the absolute and unequivocal recognition of American Independence as its fundamental condition.

Adams, in his turn, saw clearly that it was the purpose of Vergennes, whenever a treaty should be made, to "cabin, crib, confine" the young Republic in ways that should forever forbid it to grow into greatness, and incidentally to sacrifice its dearest interests

to the aggrandizement of France's other ally, Spain. It was his purpose to shut the Americans out from expansion west of the Alleghanies, to make of the Mississippi Valley a Spanish territory, and forever to exclude American vessels from the Newfoundland fisheries. In brief, Adams clearly saw that the professed friendship of the mediæval French monarchy for the radical young American Republic was purely selfish, and that it contemplated nothing further of benefit to the Republic than the securing of a feeble independence, confined within narrow bounds and subject to restrictions of the most paralyzing kind.

Fortunately for our country, no treaty was made at that time, for the obstinate British Government had not yet learned its lesson. But without doubt Adams's early perception of the French attitude and purposes bore rare fruit when the treaty of 1783 was ultimately made.

Although Adams's suspicions somewhat annoyed Franklin, who believed in Vergennes, they opened that great statesman's mind to conditions which threatened the Republic with danger, and without question the shrewd bargaining of Franklin in the later negotiations was largely inspired by Adams's warning.

In 1780 Adams was sent to Holland to negotiate a loan. He there adopted Franklin's habitual device of writing and publishing a series of articles and letters as a preparation of the popular mind in that country for the proposition he was about to bring before its government and its bankers. There he encountered the

wiles of Vergennes again, exercised through his ambassador at The Hague, the Duke de la Vauguyon. By dint of his blunt and courageous truthfulness, Adams forced that shrewd diplomat to help where he had intended to hinder the American purpose. The result of his mission there was the formal recognition of the United States as an independent nation by the Government of Holland, and a little later the negotiation of a loan of $2,000,000, and a treaty of amity and commerce. Mr. Adams himself always regarded this success of his at The Hague as the best achievement of his life in the service of his country, and perhaps it was so.

At the conclusion of this matter, Mr. Adams was again summoned to Paris to act with Franklin and Jay in negotiations with Great Britain for the recognition of American independence and for peace and commerce between the two nations. The negotiation was in itself difficult and its perplexities were enormously increased by the attitude of the Count de Vergennes, already indicated and explained. Franklin seems at this time to have been more or less hoodwinked by Vergennes and by his own great kindliness toward the French, inspired by their assistance at a critical time in the fortunes of the new Republic. But Jay and Adams resolutely stood together in opposing the French policy, and, as a result, the treaty, when it was made, imposed no restriction upon our country's western expansion and left to our hardy fishermen a full right—not a privilege but a right—to participate freely in

those Newfoundland fisheries whose proceeds have so greatly enriched New England and incidentally the whole Republic.

It is simply impossible to estimate the service thus rendered by Adams and Jay to the future of the Republic. That service indeed made the glory of the Republic possible. If the reader will imagine the thirteen new States as an independent republic, shut off on the south by the Florida border, bounded on the north by the Canadian frontier, and forever forbidden to pass beyond the Appalachian chain on the West, he will understand how insignificant would have been the future of the United States. It is to these men that we owe it, that the great States of the Middle West and the rich commonwealths of the far West and of the Pacific coast are ours to-day—that the corn grown in Illinois, and the pork produced there, that the cotton of Mississippi and Alabama and Louisiana, that the cattle that swarm over the prairies of Texas, that the grain of Kansas and Nebraska, that the wheat of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas, that the cattle and the gold and the silver of Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, and Nevada, that the fruits of Utah and California and Oregon, are all products of this great nation of ours—and that nowhere on our borders have we an enemy capable of interfering or disposed to interfere with that wonderful progress which has in little more than a century raised us from the condition of feebly dependent colonies into that of the richest, greatest, strongest nation upon earth, the feeder of

the world, as well as the inspirer of the world's ideas of human liberty. Of course, the treaty negotiated by Adams, Jay, and Franklin did not provide for all of this, or for the half of it, but it made all of it possible. Had the Republic been confined to the region east of the Alleghanies, as the Count de Vergennes desired, the Louisiana purchase would have been impossible, and all that great accession of territory formerly belonging to Mexico would have been beyond the reach even of our aspirations.

It is only fair to the great men of that time thus to estimate the results of their industry and genius, even though some of those results were not at the time contemplated by their foresight. And it is to be said to the credit of Adams and Jay that they negotiated this treaty in direct violation of certain of their instructions from Congress.

It is, perhaps, fortunate that there were no ocean cables or fast-sailing steamers in those days. Otherwise the sagacity of these two men might have been restrained by the dulness, the hesitation, the timidity, of those who had authority to give them their orders. For Congress did not understand, as Jay and Adams did, the attitude of the French Ministry. With a frankness and generosity of mind wholly foreign to the experience of the French court, Congress was disposed to regard the French alliance as one of sentiment, where in fact it was one of the grossest selfishness. Congress was, therefore, moved to instruct its diplomatic agents to preserve a quixotic regard for French

interests—to undertake nothing in the way of negotiations without the concurrence of "the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France." It instructed them that they were to govern themselves entirely by the advice of the wily diplomat who was playing fast and loose with American interests and making the Republic a mere pawn upon the chess-board of European politics.

Adams and Jay had the courage as well as the sagacity to disobey these instructions, and to make for the Republic the best terms they could—and mightily good terms they were—with the mother country, with little or no regard to the plans, wishes, and advice of the French Minister of State, who sought to make of American interests nothing more than counters in the game that he was playing.

This duty ended, Adams very greatly desired to return to his native land. His ambition was of the very highest, and his opinion of himself was an exalted one. He foresaw that at home, rather than abroad, he had a chance for that recognition and reward which he deemed to be his just due. But the time was unpropitious for the reaping of those rewards, or the realization of those ambitions. And, moreover, there was still much strenuous work for Adams to do as a diplomatic representative of his country in Europe. In one diplomatic capacity and another he remained abroad until 1788, and on his return, after a ten-years' service, he was publicly thanked by Congress for patriotism, perseverance, integrity, and diligence in his various missions.

In the meantime, the new Federal Constitution had been adopted, to replace that loose coalition of the States which had so conspicuously failed of its purpose to make one nation of the thirteen separate commonwealths. The time was at hand when a President must be chosen for the new and stronger Republic—one under whose guidance its destinies might be launched, and its future foreshadowed in present action. With that excessive appreciation of himself which had always been a part of his character, John Adams regarded himself as conspicuously the fittest man for this high honor and function.

In his utterances at that time he clearly manifested impatience with the contrary judgment of his countrymen in favor of George Washington as the first presiding officer of the Republic. He was wholly unable to discover a sound reason why Washington's services, which he regarded as purely military, should be deemed greater than his own. He was, therefore, deeply chagrined and disappointed when the result of the election proved to be the unanimous choice of Washington for the first place and the far less unanimous choice of himself for the second.

Nevertheless, during Washington's administration, John Adams worked usually in harmony with him, especially after that division of parties began which was destined to lead to the embodiment of Jefferson's ideas and principles in the institutions of the country. To those ideas and principles John Adams was resolutely opposed. He believed firmly in the necessity

of a ruling class. He conscientiously doubted the possibility of stable government under a system of universal suffrage, that provided for the equal participation of all the people in governmental affairs. Even in his writings he offended the sentiment of the times by speaking of the "well-born," thus assuming that very prerogative of birth against which the innermost souls of the great majority of the people were in active revolt and protest. He profoundly distrusted the masses of the people. He did not believe, with Jefferson, that ordinary men could be safely trusted with the business of governing themselves. Though himself less conspicuously well-born than was Jefferson, with his Randolph mother, Adams nevertheless advocated privilege, or something like it, in strenuous opposition to Jefferson's doctrine of equality of right and of the capacity of the people to rule themselves wisely and well. In his "Discourses on Davila" he argued, with all the strength of a powerful mind and all the ingenuity of a practised debater, that pure democracy was an impracticable and undesirable form of government, and that a certain admixture of monarchy and aristocracy was essential to the permanence of governmental institutions.

Nevertheless, in 1796, in spite of the strenuous and wily opposition of Hamilton and Jay, Adams was elected to succeed Washington as President. It is significant of the growing popular discontent with his doctrines that he alone, of the first five presidents, was denied a second term. During the first thirty-six

years of the Republic, every chief magistrate, except John Adams, was rewarded for good service during his first term by election for a second.

Adams's administration was perplexed in many ways, and in many ways turbulent. He had Jefferson for his Vice-President, but he ignored him as a factor in the administration. On the other hand, instead of commanding the strong support of Alexander Hamilton, who was by all odds the foremost leader of the Federalists, Adams managed to get into a violent controversy with that great leader, and thus in the end to disrupt the Federalist party, to which both belonged.

The new outbreak of hostility between France and England added enormously to the perplexities of Adams's administration. To an extent scarcely conceivable in our time, foreign affairs, scarcely at all connected in any vital way with our own national interests, influenced and dominated our national political feeling at that time. The Republicans, represented by Jefferson, strenuously favored France in her contest with Great Britain; first, because France had now come to represent that liberty, self-government, and popular sovereignty for which America had so long and so painfully struggled against the British power, and, secondly, because the War of the Revolution had left upon the popular mind an affectionate remembrance of the help rendered by France in our own struggle, and a popular detestation of everything that bore the name or stamp of the British Government. There were more or less important questions

at issue between the two parties, with reference to our own domestic policy. There was also grave discontent on the part of the people with those stately aristocratic and monarchical forms and ceremonies which Washington had instituted in the government, and which John Adams, with his abiding belief in the necessity of such things, had rather emphasized than abated. But none of these questions of grave domestic import counted for one half as much in the politics of that time as did the question of the Federalist leaning toward Great Britain, on the one hand, and the Republican enthusiasm for France in her battle for liberty, on the other.

Thus was John Adams's administration handicapped from the beginning. The country was growing more and more republican, more and more into sympathy with Jefferson's opinions and with the principles which he had embodied in its great charter of liberty, the Declaration of Independence. John Adams, now over seventy years of age, was too old and too far fixed in his own opinions to share in this growth of democracy. On the contrary, he seems increasingly to have shrunk from and dreaded it as a danger to the Republic that he loved so well.

Added to this was the necessity for practical legislation concerning the foreign affairs in controversy. It would have been almost a miracle if even his sagacity had been sufficient to steer his administration safely through such shoals and breakers. It is easy now for us to understand and realize that all the acts and

policies of his administration, whether wise or unwise, were sincerely directed by him to what he believed to be the safety and the ultimate welfare of the country. It is also easy for us to see now that in many ways his policy, in fact, served that high purpose. It saved us, for the time at least, from a war with Great Britain, in which we should have stood a far smaller chance of successful issue than we did when that inevitable conflict ultimately occurred in 1812. His policy at least secured a postponement of the contest until such time as the country should be readier and abler than it then was to conduct the struggle to success.

But the result of Adams's administration was to discredit him, for the time at least, and to make an end of his career by the overthrow of his party and its practical extinction as a controlling influence in the government of the country for all time to come. In 1800 he was defeated by Jefferson in his candidacy for re-election, and with his retirement from the presidential office his public career practically came to an end. But before he quitted office he gave to the country John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States—an appointment which perhaps did more than any other that any President has ever made to establish the Republic upon the firm foundations of clearly interpreted law and to make its greatness lasting.

But upon his retirement from office, John Adams vented his rage at his own failure of re-election in a puerile way, singularly unworthy of a character that

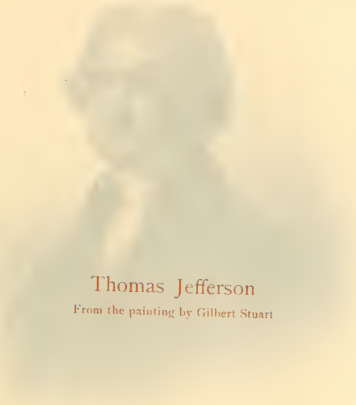
had so many times shown itself to be capable of exalted greatness. Instead of welcoming his successor, as has always since been the custom of outgoing Presidents, and thus gracefully bowing to the decision of the people at the polls, John Adams left the Capital before daybreak on the 4th of March, 1801, and in a fit of pique left Jefferson to get himself inducted into office as best he might. This and some other instances, cited in his biographies, reveal on his part a vanity, a personal conceit, and a pettiness of mind wholly unworthy of the character of the man as exemplified in his great public services. But in view of those great public services his countrymen have always been disposed to overlook these littlenesses and to estimate him rather by the greatnesses of his mind and character.

It is to the credit of the broader side of his mind that, in spite of his long antagonism to Jefferson, he resumed his friendship with that statesman in his later life, and cherished to his dying hour a high regard for the services of his great contemporary to the Republic and to the cause of liberty. Adams was nearly ninety-one years of age when he died, on the 4th of July, 1826—the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson died on the same day, but Adams, unaware of that fact, congratulated himself, the country, and mankind upon the thought, expressed in his last words, "Thomas Jefferson still survives."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

THE dominant characteristic of Thomas Jefferson's mind and life was his unfaltering love of human liberty. He not only believed in freedom as the inborn right of every human being, but he believed also and equally in the entire practicability and safety of permitting and authorizing personal freedom as the actual and rightful possession of the individual. He believed that every human being born into this world has a God-given right to do as he pleases, so long as in doing so he does not interfere with the equal right of any other human being to do as he pleases. And, further, he believed that it is entirely safe to apply this rule in practice to all human life and conduct.

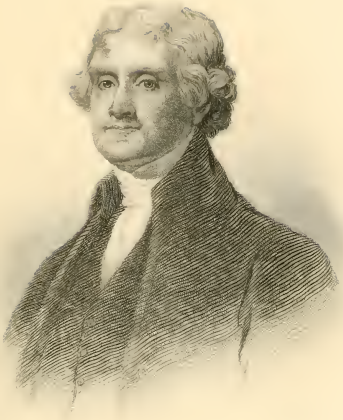
How much this meant in Thomas Jefferson's time, we in our more liberal day are apt to underestimate. To us, the doctrines which once put him into the category of anarchists,— in which even Mr. Bryce has classed him,— and led to his inclusion in a Bill of Attainder, are commonplaces of thought. In his day indulgence in thought of that kind made the thinker



Thomas Jefferson

From the painting by Gilbert Stuart





Th Jefferson

anathema maranatha, not only to the constituted powers that were, but often to the friends and intimates of the thinker as well. But Jefferson so strongly, so earnestly, so intensely, believed those doctrines of human right and human liberty that he not only declared them, but wrought them into the very web and woof of his life, and did all that was possible to him to embody them in the institutions and in the statute laws of his country.

When he wrote the Declaration of Independence he literally believed every word that he put into that document. He believed "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and to that gospel of human freedom and human equality he was grandly and resolutely true to the end of his life.

It is urged, in opposition to this view, that he was a slaveholder. That is true. Nevertheless, Thomas Jefferson hated slavery and feared it, and did all that was possible to him to secure its extinction. In the first draft that he made of the Declaration of Independence — that draft which most fully expressed his own unfettered thought — he included as a count in his tremendous indictment of King George the charge that his Majesty had permitted, authorized, and encouraged the infamy of the slave trade. This count came hot from Jefferson's indignant heart. All the passion that was possible to his well-poised nature was wreaked upon it. It is missed to-day from the Declaration,

simply because Congress struck it out in opposition to his will, and Jefferson's biographers inform us that the reason for its striking out was the interest that New England had, through its ship-owners and ship-masters, in that horrible traffic in human beings which made chattels of their persons and merchandise of their muscles.

In like manner, when Virginia ceded the Northwest Territory to the United States, Jefferson earnestly busied himself to write into the act of cession—drawn by himself—a stipulation forever binding the government to prohibit the existence of slavery in all that fair land which Virginia so generously gave to the nation.

The first public speech that Jefferson ever made in the Legislature of Virginia was made in advocacy of the bill of Mr. Bland, designed to facilitate the emancipation of negro slaves. The law of the State at that time forbade any owner of a negro slave to manumit him without sending him beyond the borders of the State. Mr. Bland's bill proposed to make emancipation easier by repealing that provision of the statute, and Jefferson, a young man just beginning his political career, boldly ventured to advocate the reform as a means of getting rid of the curse of slavery. He did this in face of the fact that the author of the bill was openly denounced in the Legislature, on the rostrum, and in the public prints as an enemy of order, an opponent of law, and an assailer of sacred vested interests.

Further than this, Jefferson later, but while still a young man, busied himself in still more important ways in behalf of the liberty that he so devotedly loved. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature after independence was declared; and at that time what Virginia did the other States were apt to do in reverent imitation. Jefferson brought forward in that dominant Legislature and strenuously advocated three measures which were then accounted anarchistic and dangerously subversive of established institutions. He advocated them solely upon that ground of natural human equality which he had already so superbly set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

One of these measures abolished the iniquity of entails, thus making all property liable, as it ought to be, for all debts, and thus removing a fruitful source of inequality and injustice from the statute law. The second abolished the absurd iniquity of primogeniture and with it the degrading dependence of younger children upon the will of eldest sons. The purpose of this measure was to secure among the children of an estate-owner that equality of opportunity and right which Jefferson believed to be God's own gift to all human beings. It was the custom at that time not only to give the entire estate to the first-born son, but to give him also educational advantages that were wholly denied to all the younger sons, and to all the daughters either older or younger, of the family. This oldest son might be a blockhead, while some younger brother might be a man of genius. The older son might be inclined to

dissoluteness, while his younger brother might be a youth of probity and good habits. Regardless of all this, the eldest son was sent abroad to be educated at Oxford or Cambridge and to make the grand tour of the continent in company with a tutor, while the younger was left with no other education than that which he might pick up in an "old field school." And the younger brother was left also for life a helpless dependent upon his senior. He was not expected or even allowed to do anything in particular if the estate could afford to support him in idleness, and if he could manage to be sufficiently subservient to retain the favor of my lord, his brother. It was a vicious system, embodying in itself all that is worst in aristocracy, all that is most destructive in the system of class privilege.

Jefferson sought with all his soul to abolish this hideous wrong, and perhaps no other service that he rendered to the country during his long and busy life was more lastingly important than this.

The third of Jefferson's great measures was a statute providing for religious liberty, which then did not exist in Virginia or, in any true sense, in any of the other colonies. This measure absolutely abolished the connection between church and state, and firmly established that perfect freedom of conscience upon which we boast ourselves. Prior to that time, liberty of conscience had mainly meant the liberty of the dominant church in each colony to impose itself and its will upon dissenters and unbelievers, without fear of restraint from any other ecclesiastical authority. This was true in

New England, as the life of Roger Williams and the history of the Quakers testify. It was true in Pennsylvania, where the Quakers, while themselves claiming a liberty not enjoyed elsewhere, were distinctly intolerant of that which did not agree with their order. It was true in Maryland, where the Catholics boasted themselves of their liberality in granting Protestants the right to live, and not much else. In brief, the conception of religious liberty which Jefferson embodied in this statute was utterly absent from the laws, the institutions, and the very fundamental ideas of every colony, just as it was from the laws, institutions, and ideas of every European nation.

It is not too much to say that by his introduction, advocacy, and successful passage of this statute in Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, for the first time in history, made religious liberty a fact. He was unquestionably right in selecting this as one of the three great achievements of his life worthy to be recorded on his tombstone, where he directed that the legend should be inscribed: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia."

In support of this measure of religious freedom, Jefferson uttered some eternal truths which in our time seem commonplaces, but which then were regarded as revolutionary in the extreme. He said: "Government has nothing to do with opinion." "Compulsion makes hypocrites, not converts." "It is error alone which

needs the support of government: Truth can stand by itself." These statements seem truisms to the modern American mind, but in Jefferson's day they seemed startling and even shocking in their radicalism. Byron says that "Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away." It may with equal truth be said that Thomas Jefferson legislated religious intolerance out of this country. He could not banish bigotry from our free land, but at any rate he cut its hideous claws.

His advocacy of each of these three measures was a direct slap in the face to the spirit of his time and to the social order to which he belonged. For, while Jefferson through his father was descended from the yeomanry, he inherited through his mother the bluest blood and the most aristocratic lineage then existing on the American continent. His three measures were calculated and deliberately intended to destroy the very institutions on which that aristocracy of which he was a part rested as its foundation. And his zeal in their advocacy was an affront to his own people and a challenge to the institutions that gave him place and prominence. His advocacy of them was not less than heroism on the part of a man born to aristocracy on one side of his house and on the other to a plebeianism that needed bolstering.

His advocacy of these three measures is cited here not as the only illustration of his devotion to human liberty and equality, but merely as furnishing the three most conspicuous examples of it. That sentiment dominated his entire life and inspired all of his

public acts. It was he who originated the statute for the establishment of local courts of justice throughout the commonwealth, in order that equity and the protection of the law might be available equally to the poor and the rich—an idea wholly foreign to the colonial Virginian mind.

It was he who alone and laboriously struggled for the establishment of a system of common schools throughout the State. It was he who tried for years to introduce into Virginia the New England system of town government, upon the avowed ground that, as a matter of observation, that system secured liberty and exact right among men, and thus ministered at the altar of that god of his idolatry, human equality.

We have here the keynote to Jefferson's character. His love of human freedom, his belief in its entire practicability, and his firm conviction of the natural equality of men were things fundamental to his nature and dominant in his life. In support of these beliefs—which were then accounted dangerously anarchistic—he never faltered, never wavered, never for one moment permitted himself to doubt the righteousness of his principles.

It has been stupidly suggested by writers inattentive to dates and facts that Jefferson imbibed his creed from the vagaries of the French Revolution. It is only necessary, by way of reply, to remind the reader that the French Revolution occurred many years after Jefferson had written his creed not only into statutory law but into a public document—the Declaration of

Independence—which will live to inspire men so long as time endures. He wrote that greatest charter of liberty in 1776. The French Revolution did not begin until 1789. Without doubt or question, the French revolutionists borrowed much from Jefferson's teachings, but to suggest that Jefferson learned his lessons of liberty from acts or utterances of theirs, is to suppose that the year 1789 antedated the year 1776.

Jefferson was, in fact, scarcely more than a boy when he began that splendid career in the Virginia Legislature which has been already adverted to, and which in that Legislature, in Congress, as Secretary of State, and as President of these United States, continued for nearly half a century, as an apostleship of human liberty.

Another characteristic which Jefferson shared with Washington, Franklin, and Adams, and with the other great men of that heroic time, was his self-sacrificing devotion to the public welfare. As Franklin spent his own money to provide the means of public defence, and turned into the treasury of his country at the time of its sorest need every dollar of his private fortune that he could in any wise convert into money, and as Washington served seven years in war and eight years in peace, refusing not only the pay assigned by Congress as a compensation for his services, but also those richer emoluments which were afterwards pressed upon him by a grateful country, so Jefferson actually impoverished himself, sinking from opulence to indigence, in the public service. When he first

entered upon his legislative duties in Virginia, he wrote it down as a resolution, "Never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my own fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer." How astonishing would be a suggestion of such a doctrine to certain of the public men of our time! How contemptuously they would reject it as the absurdest quixotism! Yet Jefferson resolutely adhered to it throughout all the years of his protracted public service, loyal to it upon principle, and, as has been said, at cost of financial ruin to himself. When he entered Washington's Cabinet he was an opulent man, possessed of vast estates, the improvement of which would have been the first care of a man less devoted than he to the public weal. When he retired from the presidency, twenty years later, he was so far impoverished by neglect of his own affairs in his care for the interests of the nation, that he seriously feared arrest for debt before his departure from the capital. Only a timely loan from a Richmond bank enabled him to leave Washington without that humiliation, and to retire to his estate in the hope of so managing his affairs as to pay his debts and retain something for the support of his declining years. No grander spectacle of heroic devotion to the public service has ever been presented in the career of any man, not excepting even that of George Washington himself.

Before Jefferson died, he had had to sell his library, and part with much else that was precious to him, in

order to meet the obligations incurred while he was attending to the public's affairs to the neglect of his own. When he died, the whole of his estate was sold for barely enough money to discharge his debts. His daughter and her children were left without the means of support, and would have fallen into want but for the spontaneous generosity of Virginia and South Carolina, whose Legislatures each voted to his daughter a free gift of $10,000.

Unlike Washington and Franklin, Jefferson had the advantage of an orderly education. He was trained at William and Mary College, which then gave to its students, as Harvard did to the young men of New England, about that amount of instruction which our boys in the present day receive in a good High School, or somewhat less than that. His instruction in law, though irregular in its ordering, was of a much higher character. It had for its basis Coke upon Lyttleton, and it included four years of diligent reading and practical experience in the office of a learned counsellor. It was a training in the law of that high quality which made possible such jurists as John Marshall and John Jay, and the other legal giants of that strenuous time. It was such training in the law as few students receive in our day, when Practice is given precedence over Principle; when ancient traditions and broad historical truths are made to give place to a study of codes and statutory technicalities, and when the coming lawyer is taught rather how to win cases in court than to understand the theory, the principle,

the history, and, above all, the eternal righteousness of the law.

It was in thus learning the law that Thomas Jefferson imbibed those convictions of human right, human liberty, and human equality which dominated his mind throughout his career. He knew more of English constitutional law than the King and all his ministers ever dreamed of, and upon occasion he sorely confounded them with his learning. In previously learning the mathematics, to which he was a devotee, and in which he was an expert, he had acquired that uncompromising devotion to exact truth which prompted him throughout life to apply the principles he had learned in his study of the law to present conditions as relentlessly as if they had been mathematical formulæ.

And in thus learning the law Jefferson acquired that intellectual training which leads to precision of statement, lucidity of comprehension, and simple directness of utterance. Literary style in that period was supposed to be formed by "giving one's days and nights to Addison"; but it is observable in the writings of such men as John Jay, John Marshall, John Adams, and the rest of the great lawyers, that they had learned from their law studies a literary art finer than any of which Addison was a master. They had learned to think clearly and to express their thoughts with a precision and lucidity that Addison scarcely dreamed of.

Jefferson has been called "the pen of the Revolution." Certainly no man in that time wrote with

greater ease and elegance than he, and, still more certainly, none wrote with a more convincing simplicity. It is doubtful that there is in the language anywhere a nobler specimen of convincing literary style than the Declaration of Independence, and it was Jefferson's habit throughout life to write in that clear-cut, masterly way.

From his father, Peter Jefferson, Thomas inherited a stalwart frame and a mind simple in its conscientiousness. From this father, also, he received up to the age of fourteen an invaluable tuition in the robust exercises of the chase. He learned to shoot, to ride, to swim, and, better still, to dare; and this father — planter, surveyor, and man of exalted character — left behind him instructions for the education of his son, both physically and mentally, which, without doubt, had large influence in moulding him for that high service that he was destined later to render to his country and to mankind. From his mother, Jane Randolph, Thomas Jefferson inherited the highest traditions of loyalty to duty then prevalent in a community where traditions were binding, especially when they involved the point of honor.

This was the making of the man, and this explains him. According to the custom of his time and family, he entered at twenty-one years of age upon unpaid public service as a justice of the peace and a vestryman of his parish. In the meantime, he had assumed charge of his dead father's estate and was managing its difficult affairs with skill and discretion, while carrying on an earnest study of the law. At the age of

twenty-four, he was admitted to the bar and entered at once upon an active practice. He was no speaker, and in that day, in Virginia, oratory was accounted the most essential equipment of the young lawyer. But his knowledge was so profound, his judgment so discreet, and his industry so untiring, that his lack of oratorical ability counted scarcely at all against him in the reckoning.

He was twenty-six years of age when, in May, 1769, he took his seat as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which Washington also was a member. It was a stormy time of conflict with the royal governor, Lord Botetourt, who three days later dissolved the House for what he regarded as its treasonable course in contending for the right of the colonies to exemption from all taxation not levied by their own representatives. From that time till 1774, Thomas Jefferson was one of the most active, intelligent, and uncompromising opponents in the Virginia Legislature of every assertion of royal authority. It was he who prepared that "Draught of Instructions" which Virginia gave to her delegates in Congress, and which formed the basis and inspiration of the movement in behalf of independence throughout all the colonies. Here Thomas Jefferson's extraordinary grasp of the principles of English law and of human right, and his singular capacity for the lucid and convincing utterance of truth, rendered possible his first great contribution to the cause of American independence. He proposed an address to the King; but he proposed

also that this address should be not servile or too submissive, but manly and courteously self-assertive. He proposed that the address should frankly remind the King that he was, after all, nothing more than the chosen chief executive of a great people, and that he was possessed only of definite and limited powers. He insisted that the Legislature of Virginia had as clear a right to pass laws for the government of England as the Parliament of England had to pass laws for the government of Virginia. This was bold and radical ground to take, and there is little wonder that it brought Jefferson under condemnation as a pestilent revolutionist; but even this was not all. Intimately familiar as he was with the history as well as with the law of England, he actually ventured to refer approvingly to "the late deposition of His Majesty King Charles by the Commonwealth of England."

Is it any wonder that two years later, when Congress at last accepted the idea of independence, this young apostle of human right and of American liberty was chosen chairman of the committee charged with the duty of drawing up that declaration of causes and reasons which was felt to be due to "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind"? The veteran Benjamin Franklin—everywhere recognized as the most effective writer, and the most experienced diplomatist in all the colonies—was a member of that committee. John Adams, representing the best thought, the highest learning, and the fundamental character of the already revolted and warring New England States, was an-

other. Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston—giants in their way—completed the list of the committee. But, among these notables and veterans, it was Thomas Jefferson, a young man only thirty-three years of age, who was made chairman of the committee and charged with the exalted duty of writing the greatest State paper and the grandest setting forth of the essentials of human right that has a place anywhere in the archives of the nations of earth. It was eminently fit, and it was felt to be so, that the man who had drawn the Virginia Instructions should write the Declaration of Independence, of which they were the foundation. This young man had boldly ventured to ask, "Can any one reason be assigned why 160,000 electors in the Island of Great Britain should give law to 4,000,000 in the States of America?" In that question, boldly propounded to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, Jefferson had put the essentials of the American thought and contention. It was specially fit, when the time came to declare independence as a measure of revolt against injustice and usurpation, that this young man, who so clearly understood the subject and so vigorously grasped the ideas fundamental to it, should be employed to set forth to all mankind the reasons that impelled the colonies to declare themselves, of right, free and independent States. He had already by his utterances brought upon himself, as he himself phrased it, "the honor of having his name inserted in a long list of proscriptions, enrolled in a Bill of Attainder."

Having accomplished the work assigned him, Thomas Jefferson resigned his seat in Congress and returned to his duties as a member of the Virginia Legislature. It was then that he sought to introduce the New England system of local self-government into his native State. It was then that he began his successful warfare upon entails, primogeniture, and the relation between church and state to which reference has already been made in this essay. As he himself expressed it, in a letter to Dr. Franklin, his efforts were directed to the end that Virginia—then the dominant State in the Union—should lay aside "the monarchical, and take up the republican government," and, as he said, Virginia did this "with as much ease as would have attended the throwing off an old and putting on a new suit of clothes."

If Jefferson's work had ended here, it would have been enough to justify the granting of a place to him in any Hall of Fame in which the demigods of American history are entitled to the celebration of their virtues and their services. Three times Congress called upon him to go abroad in the delicate and difficult diplomatic service of that time. Three times he declined, not for personal reasons, but in each case because the occasion for sending him abroad seemed to have passed away before the time for his departure arrived. But, meantime, other public services continuously occupied his mind and his energies to the serious detriment of his private fortunes. In 1779, in the storm-and-stress period of the Revolution, he was made Governor

of Virginia, and for two years he occupied that difficult position, and discharged its arduous and perplexing duties so efficiently that when, later, in answer to certain carping criticisms, he demanded a searching investigation of his administration, the Legislature of Virginia, without a dissenting voice, passed a resolution thanking him by public authority, and in behalf of the people, for his "impartial, upright and attentive discharge of duty."

In 1782, he was again unanimously chosen as the country's plenipotentiary to France, to treat for peace. He accepted the appointment, but did not sail because news came that a preliminary treaty had already been signed. In 1783, he was again elected to Congress, and, as chairman of the committee on the currency, he gave to us that decimal monetary system which has so greatly ministered to the prosperity of the country. Unfortunately, his effort to apply this decimal system to all weights and measures was not successful, and consequently to this day our boys and girls must stupefy their brains in muddling over a lot of "tables" which are without congruity, without reason for being, and without sense. Some day, perhaps, we shall be civilized enough and wise enough to carry out Thomas Jefferson's idea and apply to all measures that decimal system which he, even in that early day, applied in his odometer to the measuring of all roads over which he travelled.

In 1784, Congress still again appointed Jefferson Minister Plenipotentiary to France, and on the 5th of

July of that year he went abroad upon that mission. "You replace Dr. Franklin," said the Count de Vergennes to him, when he presented his credentials, in 1785. "I succeed Dr. Franklin," answered Jefferson; "nobody can replace him."

During his stay in France, Jefferson's intense republicanism was enormously recruited by his study of the horrible conditions into which arbitrary and insanely mediæval government, and the abuses of aristocratic privilege, had brought the plain people. He was shocked and horrified by what he saw—so shocked and horrified that the very excesses of the French Revolution, which soon afterward broke out, always seemed to him less horrible than the evils against which they were a protest. In a letter to Madison, he wrote that the government then existing in France was a "government of wolves over sheep, or kites over pigeons." He went among the people, ate of their scanty meals, rested himself upon their beds, as he said, "to see if they were soft," and found them very hard.

After five years, passed alternately in the glittering pageants of the court and in the hovels of the peasantry, he returned to America a more intensely determined Democrat even than he had been before his mission began. All that he had wrought out of principle and theory by his philosophy he found there demonstrated by fact. All of antagonism to tyranny, which his studies of the law and his thinking upon lines of common sense had implanted in his soul, was

thus strengthened by example, and intensified by practical illustration of the misery to which the luxury of the aristocrat condemns the children of the people. He had seen both sides. He had enjoyed the glories of the French court, and had lain upon the couches and eaten the meagre porridge of the people. He had seen privilege at its best and privation at its worst. He came back to America more deeply convinced than ever of those self-evident truths which he had long ago written into the Declaration of Independence—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

On his return to Virginia, in 1789, after five years of arduous service in France, he was instantly called again to public duty. Washington, then President, asked him to assume the functions of Secretary of State. He accepted the appointment very reluctantly. The duties of the place were delicate and difficult in the extreme. The salary attached to it was not more than half sufficient to pay for the diplomatic dinners that the Secretary must give and the other expenses that he must incur in the discharge of his duties to the government. Moreover, Washington had been elected as the candidate of no party, or rather of all parties. As a result, he had called about him for his Cabinet men of exceedingly diverse views, whose opinions there was no hope of reconciling. Oil and water are not more difficult of fusion than were the opinions of Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Alexander

Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. Jefferson believed absolutely in democratic government — a government such as Lincoln many years later characterized as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Hamilton believed in government of the people, by authority, for the general good — the general good including especially the good of the ruling class. There is much dispute as to whether Hamilton really desired and proposed the establishment of monarchy in this country, with an aristocracy as its buttress, but whether he did or not, it is certain that his ideas did not at all follow those lines upon which the ideas of Jefferson were formed; it is certain that he had less faith in the capacity of the people for self-government than Jefferson had; it is certain that he believed in more government and stronger government than Jefferson's mind was ready to tolerate.

Knox, another member of the Cabinet, was in all these respects the disciple of Hamilton, and thus Jefferson, though at the head of the Cabinet, found himhimself in continuous antagonism with the ideas and opinions of those others who were associated with him in that formative period, which was destined to give color and direction to our national institutions. Even Washington himself had a belief in state and ceremony which was peculiarly obnoxious to Jefferson's mind. He instituted ceremonies that were to Jefferson intensely offensive, as Jefferson himself demonstrated by decreeing their utter and instant abolition when he became President in his turn.

It is hard to imagine a more difficult position than that which Jefferson occupied, as the head of Washington's Cabinet. He was personally so firm a believer in his doctrine of human liberty and of the right of the people to rule themselves that he eulogized Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," declared that if the French Revolution "had desolated half of the earth" it would still have benefited mankind by its abolition of the abuses that gave rise to it, and said that "were there only an Adam and an Eve left in each country, and left free, it would be better than as it now is." The antagonism of Hamilton to such views as these was wholly irreconcilable, and even Washington, with all his tact and charity, and dread of partisanship, was unable to reconcile this conflict of fundamental opinions.

The situation became so strained at last that at the beginning of 1794 Jefferson forced his resignation upon the President and retired to Monticello, in the hope that, by attention to his estate, he might in some degree repair those ravages which the war and his long neglect of personal for public affairs had wrought in his fortunes. In common with Washington, Franklin, John Adams, and many others of the founders of the Republic Jefferson had grievously sacrificed his own fortunes to those of the nation. It was now his fond hope to retire permanently from public life and devote the remainder of his days, as Washington so often and so earnestly desired to do, to the peaceful and gratifying pursuit of agriculture. A few months

later, however, Washington invited Jefferson to resume his headship in the Cabinet, Hamilton having, in the meantime, retired. This invitation Jefferson declined, declaring that under no circumstances would he ever again enter upon public office. Yet two years later Jefferson was voted for as a candidate for the presidency and was actually chosen to be Vice-President. Four years later still, he was a candidate for the presidency, and was elected to that high office, which he filled for eight years, being re-elected in 1804.

Every intelligent student of Jefferson's career must realize that, indirectly but actually his greatest service to the Republic was educational—that in his legislative and other labors for liberty, and in his long-continued advocacy of the freedom of the individual as a natural, God-given right, and not as a gracious gift of government, he rendered a service wholly matchless in its splendor.

But it was as President that in material ways he most conspicuously conferred benefit upon his country. It was he who gave to this nation the right and privilege of becoming great. It was he who negotiated a purchase which not only gave to us the vast territory west of the Mississippi, but with it gave us also perpetual exemption from the possibility of a hostile power on our Western borders, and made the whole length of that most wonderful of all river systems forever our own. In the minds of those who look most at material things this will always stand as Jefferson's greatest service to the Republic. And certainly, in

material ways, there has been no greater service rendered by any man or any administration.

But Jefferson impressed himself for good in other ways upon the government of the country, upon its institutions, and upon its habits of thought. Washington, born and bred an aristocrat and for long years exercising arbitrary power and maintaining state as a great commander of armies, had brought into the government a degree of pomp and ceremony which he deemed essential to the maintenance of that popular awe and respect which, up to that time, had been deemed essential to the preservation of governmental dignity. He had been accused, indeed, of introducing actually royal surroundings for himself. So grave had been this question in his mind that at one time he formally submitted it to the members of his Cabinet, and drew from them written opinions as to what measure of state and ceremony it was desirable and necessary for the President to maintain. To Jefferson, when he came into power, this was no question at all. He was a democrat of democrats. He believed in the equality of men as well as in their liberty. He regarded the government as nothing more nor less than their agency for the transaction of the public business. He regarded himself, in his capacity as President, as nothing more than the citizen selected by his fellow citizens to care for their common concerns. He therefore at once swept away all of Washington's forms and ceremonies, which John Adams, in spite of his own love of simplicity, had permitted to survive through

his administration. Jefferson lived plainly, dressed plainly, and behaved as any plain gentleman might. He abolished the weekly levee, and in every other way possible stripped the presidential office of the millinery and flummery of state.

It had been the custom of presidents to deliver annual addresses to Congress, after the manner of the English Speech from the Throne. Jefferson abolished this custom. Instead of an address, he sent to Congress a carefully prepared message, laying before that body the information, the suggestions, and the recommendations called for by the Constitution. He thus established a democratic practice which has endured to our own day, no president having ever thought of reverting to the older and more monarchic way.

As Vice-President under Mr. Adams, Jefferson had taken no part whatever in government, beyond the discharge of his duties as President of the Senate. For by this time the cleavage between parties was becoming marked, and Jefferson and Adams were antipodal to each other in their political opinions. Adams the Federalist felt no desire to consult with Jefferson the radical Republican. And Jefferson, in his turn, had no wish to share responsibility for the acts of an administration whose principles he regarded as wrong, and whose proceedings he considered hurtful and, in some part at least, unlawful. Two years before his own election to the presidency he had drawn the celebrated Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, expressing, as they had never before been expressed, those doctrines

upon which the Republican — afterwards called the Democratic — party made its appeal to the people. Those resolutions denounced the Alien and Sedition Laws not only as unconstitutional, but as subversive of fundamental human rights. Except in writing the Declaration of Independence, it is doubtful that Jefferson ever made a greater contribution to the science of free government than in the framing of those resolutions. Naturally, when he came to be President, he did all that he could to undo the mischiefs wrought by those laws. He pardoned every man who was imprisoned under the terms of the Sedition Law, holding that law to be "a nullity as absolute and palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image." He sent friendly and sympathetic letters to the chief victims of the Alien Law, Kosciuszko and Volney, and he invited Dr. Priestley, who had been menaced by that statute, to be his guest in the Executive Mansion. To Thomas Paine he offered the honor of a homeward voyage in a government war-ship.

Jefferson was the first of our presidents to encounter those problems of the civil service which have so greatly vexed all of his successors. He found practically every office, great and small, occupied by a Federalist, and he found, too, that the hunger and thirst for place with which we are now so familiar had already begun its clamor. The least that was demanded of him was that he should make enough removals and new appointments to establish an equality of office-holding between the two parties. This Jefferson

resolutely refused to do. He held firmly to the doctrine that a faithful subordinate, whose functions are not political, should never be displaced because of a difference between his political views and those of the administration. He made no removals except for official misconduct, or, in his own words, for "active and bitter opposition to the order of things which the public will has established"—that is to say, for disloyalty to our republican form of government.

It is no part of the purpose of the present essay to recount in detail the acts and the events of Jefferson's administration. In historical importance, the Louisiana Purchase, already referred to, was chief among the external acts of his administration. It not only gave to us a territory which American enterprise has wrought into a matchless empire of populous and opulent States, but it made this country great by forever freeing us from the possibility of a rival nation in the country beyond the Mississippi. But to the thoughtful mind the greatest service of Jefferson's administration was its efficiency in republicanizing the Republic—in making this great democracy democratic—in teaching the people to trust themselves, and in demonstrating to all mankind the possibility of a free people establishing and maintaining a great and powerful nation without any of those adventitious aids which had from the beginning of time been accounted necessary to the creation and the maintenance of national power.

When Jefferson entered upon the presidency there was everywhere doubt and distrust of republican

forms and principles. It was everywhere doubted that a government strong enough to stand alone could be securely rested upon faith in the popular honesty and intelligence. It was everywhere doubted that national strength was compatible with actual individual liberty. It was everywhere doubted that the people could be trusted to manage their own affairs. When Jefferson quitted the presidency all these problems had been wrought out to a demonstration through his superb courage in fearlessly applying principles to practice. It is scarcely too much to say that Thomas Jefferson created the only great Republic this world has ever known, in which republicanism is real and self-government an actual fact.

It has already been related that Jefferson grievously impoverished himself in his devotion to the public service, and that when he retired from the presidency he was actually apprehensive of detention in Washington under an arrest for debt—that hideous thing, imprisonment for debt, having not then been eliminated from American law. Jefferson had inherited from his father a fair patrimony of fertile lands, with about thirty slaves to till them. His wife had brought to him as her dowry 40,000 acres of land and one hundred and thirty-five slaves. Such an estate, under the careful and skilful management of such a man as Thomas Jefferson, would unquestionably have made him one of the most opulent men in America. That opportunity he sacrificed willingly to the public service, and his declining years were passed in poverty and

financial embarrassment solely because of his sacrifice of his time, his genius, and his energies, to the service of his countrymen.

His retirement from public life occurred at the age of sixty-six years, and his personal affairs strenuously demanded his utmost attention, yet he did not cease even then, and under such circumstances, to concern himself with the welfare of his country and especially of his native State. His correspondence with Madison and Monroe was mightily helpful to the nation in a time of sore stress and strait. He busied himself in a renewed effort to establish common schools in Virginia like those that had done so much for New England. He was baffled in this, largely by reason of the fact that in Virginia the land was held in large plantations, and the population, therefore, was so widely scattered that the maintenance of schools for all was difficult, expensive, and in some cases impossible. Yet to this educational purpose Jefferson devoted all his energy and all his abilities for years.

In another educational project he was more successful. He made himself truly—as he desired that his tombstone should declare—"the father of the University of Virginia." He not only secured the financial appropriations necessary to the establishment and maintenance of that noble institution, but he planned its system of education and personally superintended every detail of the construction of its buildings. He founded it rigidly upon those principles of truth and justice which had dominated all his thoughts

throughout his life. He forbade it to grant honorary degrees, holding it rigidly to the function of crowning actual scholarship and actual work with academic recognition. He freed it, from the beginning, from all semblance of monarchism by providing that it should have no president, and he freed its students for all time from religious oppression by providing in its fundamental law that attendance on their part upon religious exercises of every kind should be purely voluntary.

This, in brief, is the portrait of that apostle of liberty, without whose brave thought and aggressive energy much that this Republic means to mankind would have been lost.

THE STATESMEN

DANIEL WEBSTER

NO man who has lived in this land of ours had richer gifts of genius than Daniel Webster. No man conspicuous for such gifts has had them marred to a greater degree by reason of his moral deficiency.

As a lawyer, he was for thirty years and more the foremost man at the bar. In his grasp of great constitutional principles and of their bearing upon questions at issue in court or in the halls of legislation he had no superior, and perhaps no equal. Two men, only, in American history have surpassed him in this respect —namely, John Marshall and Joseph Story—and they were called so early to the bench as never to have been his competitors at the bar. As a statesman, during a still longer period he was unquestionably one of the greatest forces in America, both in legislative and in executive performance. As an orator of the larger kind, he was without a superior, without a rival, without a peer. After his Plymouth oration, John Adams, a very cool and self-possessed critic, not given in any degree to extravagances, went so far as to place him

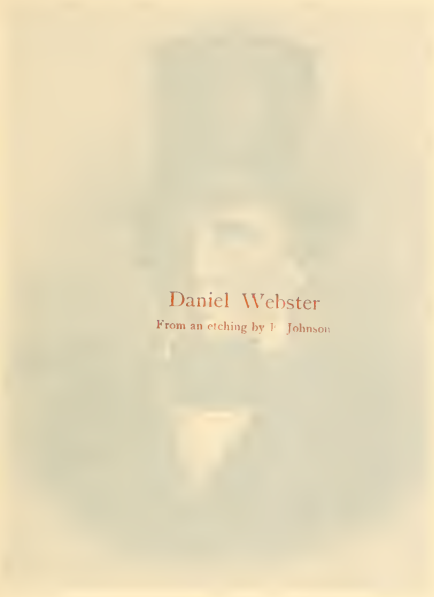
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above Burke, as "the most consummate orator of modern times." His grasp of principles was instant and all-embracing. His diction was incisive in an extreme degree. He had an extraordinary gift of lucid, simple, and convincing statement, and joined with this a remarkable power of impassioned eloquence of that kind that gives to the orator a complete mastery over men. In aid of his oratory he had, too, a personal presence so impressive that it sometimes made even platitudes falling from his lips seem eloquent.

His bearing was dignified and characterized by a solemnity which at times barely stopped short of pomposity and affectation.

But with all this splendid equipment — with every gift that Nature could lavish upon the orator and lawyer and statesman—with an unmatched power to compel others to his way of thinking — Webster failed to achieve the highest greatness. He said himself a few months before his death: "I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain, and politics is utterly vain." It was the cry of a disappointed ambition, the lamentation of conscious failure. The failure was altogether due to those moral defects which were, from the beginning, the canker in the fair flower of his genius and his life.

Webster had no moral convictions to which he adhered with any trustworthy persistency. It was not so much that he was immoral as that he was unmoral. He seems to have lacked any efficient sense of abiding moral obligation. He was strangely deficient in fixed



Daniel Webster

From an etching by F Johnson



principle and in controlling conviction. Yet his perception of the value of such principles and convictions was so strong that he devoted much of his energy to the feigning of a virtue when he had it not. He posed throughout life as the foremost advocate and champion of a perpetual, indissoluble union, and without question did more than any other man in his time to impress that thought and feeling on his countrymen. Yet in the early days of his congressional career, he bitterly and disloyally opposed the nation in its war with England, and used all his eloquence to defeat measures designed to strengthen the hands of the government with men and means for the carrying on of that second war of independence. He went even farther than this. This champion and advocate of the union, of the constitution, of a strong, national government was the author of the Rockingham Memorial, into which he wrote a scarcely veiled threat of New England's secession at a time of great national peril, when the perpetuity of the Union itself seemed immediately dependent upon universal and cordial support of the administration at the hands of all citizens and all sections.

Again, while professing the utmost breadth of national feeling and sympathy, and boasting in his own phrase that "there are no Alleghanies in my politics," his speeches and votes in Congress, and his attitude upon all public questions were manifestly determined largely by purely sectional considerations. When Clay brought forward his protective tariff scheme Webster

strongly opposed it, even to the point of contending, with much force and learning, that protection in any form is unconstitutional. In all this he spoke the voice of New England, which at that time was engaged almost exclusively in commerce by sea, and held radical free-trade doctrines. Later, when New England had become a manufacturing centre, and the interests of her mill-owners outweighed those of her merchant princes, Webster veered about and supported with all the power of his eloquence that extreme tariff bill which was justly called "the bill of abominations." So, too, he began by opposing all banks and paper money, and ended as a foremost champion of the Second United States Bank when Jackson was making a war upon that institution. In brief, Webster clearly had no political convictions which he felt himself bound to respect when his own interest or that of New England dictated a change.

If this had been all, the excuses which have been put forward for his vacillating political course might perhaps be accepted. It might in that case have been enough of explanation to say that he was an opportunist, changing his attitude from time to time in order at each moment to accomplish the best results that might then be attainable; or to urge, as some of his biographers have done, that his changes were due to changes of public conditions;—for example: that when he turned from radical free-trade to extreme protection he was simply accepting the policy of protection as one fixed by law, in spite of his endeavors to the

contrary, and seeking to make the most and the best of it.

But, unhappily, Webster's moral deficiencies appear as clearly in his personal conduct as in his political career. In the Dartmouth College case, which first made him conspicuous as a constitutional lawyer, he accepted a fee from one side and afterwards appeared in behalf of the other. Lawyers have an ugly name for that species of conduct, which it is not necessary in an essay like this to employ.

Again, throughout his wonderful career as a lawyer and statesman, Webster was greatly and continuously indebted to the counsel and assistance of Judge Story. At the time, he gratefully acknowledged this aid in many letters to Story, but after Story's death he most ungenerously refused to let the great Justice's son and biographer reprint either the letters in which Story had given him the counsel and assistance, or his own replies, acknowledging the service. It is not an obtrusive or uncalled-for utterance to say that this was mean, small, and unworthy.

Still more grievous was Webster's extraordinary lack of financial honesty. He earned an annual income of twenty thousand dollars during the first years of his law practice in Boston, and from that time forward his earnings were enormously increased by his ceaseless employment in the Supreme Court. His income was greater, perhaps, than that of any other man of his time, and certainly very much greater than that of any other lawyer then living,—greater, far, than even an

extravagant man could need. Yet he was always and heavily in debt, always a ravenous borrower of other men's money, and, from beginning to end of his career he seemed never to concern himself with any effort to discharge his obligations or even to repay sums generously loaned to him by men much poorer than himself, including the cab-drivers of Washington, whom he forced to accept his notes-of-hand in lieu of five-dollar bills.

All his life he lived like a nabob on other men's money. All his life he lavishly squandered large sums that he did not own, and indulged every caprice of his own extravagant fancy, while his creditors were crippled for lack of the money he owed them.

Finally, with all his ponderous dignity, he was not ashamed to accept outright a gift of money sent to him avowedly in recognition and reward of that seventh-of-March speech, in which he made himself the champion and most effective minister of the slave-power which he had all his life antagonized.

Curiously enough, in face of all these extraordinary manifestations of dishonest selfishness, Mr. Webster's admirers, shutting their eyes to the undisputed facts, have been loud in their praises of his unselfishness and his generosity. They cite, in proof, the fact that he lavishly spent and gave away money; but they omit to ask themselves whose money it was.

Webster was born on the eighteenth of January, 1782, in a little town in New Hampshire. He was the son of a poor, hardworking, and very meagrely educated

farmer, a man of great integrity and fine intelligence. At a cost which he could ill afford, Ebenezer Webster gave Daniel, his brightest son, the best education he could command. The boy was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801, having distinguished himself there less by his devotion to study—which was not great—than by his eloquence, which even at that early age was conspicuous. He began at once to study law, but presently suspended that work in order to earn money for the education of his brother by teaching at Fryeburg, Maine. This was an impulse of unselfishness not often repeated in Webster's career. A little later he went to Boston and entered the law office of Mr. Gore, who secured his admission to the bar in 1805. Returning to New Hampshire, Webster opened a law office in the little town of Boscawen, where he speedily secured as good a practice in his profession as was possible in so small a place, and among a people so poor. On his father's death, about a year later, the family were found to be impoverished. Ebenezer Webster had sacrificed all his chances of accumulation, and had deeply mortgaged his little possessions in order to educate his sons. With that jaunty indifference to debt which characterized Webster throughout his life, the young man promptly assumed these, his father's debts. It is not recorded that he ever paid them; or, if he did, that he ever repaid the money he borrowed for that purpose. From Boscawen Webster removed to Portsmouth, in search of a larger field, and there he quickly achieved all of practice and

all of reputation that was then within the reach of a young lawyer in that not overpopulous or overwealthy State. During the ten years of his residence in Portsmouth, Webster married and made his first entrance into politics. It was during that time that he wrote the Rockingham Memorial, already referred to, and was promptly elected to represent his district in Congress, with the session beginning in 1813. He was at once made a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which, during that period of war, was by odds the most important committee in the House. He promptly renewed his antagonism to the administration, and to the war in which the country was engaged. His first act was to introduce and advocate resolutions designed to embarrass the administration, and to discredit the war, in which the national life itself was then in peril, as a war without due occasion. A little later he went farther than this, and spoke with great earnestness and eloquence against the bill designed to encourage enlistments. He shared passionately, and with a good deal of justice on his side, in the struggle then made against the restrictive measures which were crippling the commerce of the country. He opposed the war tax, denounced the war itself and its authors, and even went so far in the direction of disloyalty as to vote against the taxes necessary to carry on the struggle. Senator Lodge, in his biographical sketch, says:

"There is a nice question of political ethics here, as to how far the opposition ought to go in time of national war and distress,

but it is certainly impossible to give more extreme expression to parliamentary opposition than to refuse supplies at the most critical moment in a severe conflict. To this last extreme of party opposition to the administration Mr. Webster went. It was as far as he could go, and remain loyal to the Union."

Webster served for two terms in Congress, as a representative from New Hampshire. It was during that time that the United States Bank was chartered, against his opposition. He succeeded in compelling some radical and publicly beneficial modifications in the measure,—notably one which compelled the bank to redeem its notes in specie. But, even in this improved form, he voted against the bill to the last. Nevertheless, he afterwards, as already stated, became a champion and chief advocate of the bank, voting for the renewal of its charter and bitterly antagonizing Jackson's course with respect to the institution.

At the end of his second term, on March 4, 1816, Webster retired to private life, and in the following June he removed from Portsmouth to Boston. There his law practice immediately became very great and remunerative. It was during this period of retirement from active political life that Webster became engaged in the celebrated Dartmouth College case. It was then that, after accepting a fee as pay for engaging in their case, he abandoned his clients for the service of their adversaries,—a course of which he never offered any explanation that could satisfy sensitively honorable minds. The true explanation seems clearly to have been one of politics. The case took on a partisan complexion, and actually wrought a political revolution

in the State. Webster was then, as previously, a strong partisan, one who usually accepted the policies and opinions of the Federalists without much of independent thought, and sustained them as an advocate maintains the contentions of his employing client. It happened that Webster's party took that side in the college causes which was opposed to the clients who first engaged him as counsel, and it was as a partisan that, in defiance of legal ethics, he abandoned his clients and went over to their enemies.

It was he who finally argued the causes before the Supreme Court of the United States, where he succeeded in fixing upon the Constitution an interpretation which has ever since embarrassed efforts to restrain or regulate corporations by state or national authority. Simply stated, the doctrine thus established is that a corporate charter is a contract, and that laws enacted, after the granting of charters, for the regulation of corporate action, are unconstitutional, on the ground that they impair the obligations of contracts. On the first hearing the majority of the Supreme Court was manifestly opposed to this construction, but Chief Justice Marshall, who leaned strongly to Webster's view, adjourned the case, and, before it came up for a second hearing, several of the opposing justices, enough to make a majority, were induced to change their views, and Webster triumphed.

The effect of this decision was important and far-reaching. It fearfully embarrasses legislative action even now. It greatly strengthened the authority of

the Supreme Court. It subjected state legislation to judicial restraints greater than had before been supposed possible, and in many of the States it led to important changes in constitutions and in the law of corporations designed to reserve to the legislature the right to modify or abrogate charters for cause.

Webster did not return to Congress until 1823. In 1820 he served with influence and distinction in the very notable convention which revised, liberalized, and modernized the Constitution of Massachusetts. His fame, both as a great lawyer and as an orator, grew even more rapidly than the years passed by.

In December, 1820, he delivered the oration on the two-hundredth anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims. It was, perhaps, the noblest, the most effective, the most eloquent of all the orations this modern Demosthenes ever delivered. Its eloquence not only moved the masses of his audience as they had never been moved before, but it well-nigh drove mad with joyous enthusiasm the most learned and the soberest-minded of the men who listened to its impassioned words. No less calm a mind than that of Mr. Ticknor was so overwrought by the splendid eloquence that for a time he could not give a lucid judgment of the address.

"It *must* have been a great, a very great performance," Mr. Ticknor wrote; "but whether it was so absolutely unrivalled as I imagined when I was under the immediate influence of his presence, of his tones, of his looks, I cannot be sure till I have read it, for it seems to me incredible. I was never so excited by public speaking before in my life. Three or four times I thought my

temples would burst with the gush of blood. . . . When I came out I was almost afraid to come near to him. It seemed to me as if he was like the mount that might not be touched, and that burned with fire. I was beside myself and am so still."

This wonderful oration—scarcely less effective in the reading than in the delivery—passed at once into the literature of the people. It was read with enthusiasm everywhere, and portions of it were embodied in those school-books from which millions of children throughout the land were learning that love of country which, a generation later, enabled the government to call into the field more than two millions of men as defenders of the Union.

It has been truly said of Webster that in this address and in those other orations of like exalted quality which followed it, he did far more than any other one man to cultivate among the people an undying devotion to the Union, and to the idea of nationality which is embodied in the Union. Upon such a service it is of course impossible to place too high an estimate. For such a service no reward of honor that the people can pay can be deemed excessive.

The second of Webster's great masterpieces of patriotic oratory was his address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825. The third was his noble eulogy upon John Adams and Thomas Jefferson in 1820. The fourth was his second reply to Hayne, delivered in the Senate of the United States, in January, 1830.

The orator's period of public service was almost

coextensive with his manhood, and his speeches upon public questions were frequent and very eloquent. But in the four orations mentioned he reached an altitude of all-inspiring eloquence that even so divinely gifted an orator as he could not hope to attain upon any but the most exalted occasions. Had he done nothing else in life than give utterance to these orations his fame would have been secure and enduring.

On his return to Congress, in 1823, Webster was made Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and in that capacity he drew a bill which completely remodelled the national criminal law, bringing order and consistency out of the chaos previously existing. He secured the passage of this measure, but was less successful in his determined opposition to Mr. Clay's protective tariff system. In one of the strongest, most logical, and most destructively analytical speeches that he ever made in Congress, he took his stand as the foremost champion of free trade, both as an abstract principle and as a national policy. As has already been said, he afterwards reversed his position on this question. His free-trade speech was made in behalf of New England's commerce, which was then the dominant interest of that part of the country. Four years later, when he repudiated his former doctrine and advocated the measure of extreme protection which was called the "tariff of abominations," New England's chief interest was in manufactures. In 1824, in the lower House, Webster stoutly contended that protection was plainly unconstitutional; in 1828, in the Senate, he discovered

nothing in the Constitution to antagonize that policy. The Constitution had not been altered in the meantime, but conditions and opinions in New England had been reversed.

Webster entered the Senate reluctantly. He preferred the field offered to his abilities in the popular House, and as his re-election as often as he might desire was certain, the longer term in the Senate could not add anything to the security of his tenure of legislative place. But the demand of the Massachusetts Legislature that he should represent its State in the Senate was too imperative to be resisted, and he was chosen to that service in 1827.

In January, 1830, the fourth of Webster's great oratorical opportunities came to him. Calhoun and his followers were at that time believers in the right of a State to nullify a national statute upon grounds of unconstitutionality, the State, and not the courts, to be the judge of the constitutional question. But as yet the doctrine had not been openly proclaimed in the Senate. In January, 1830, Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, in the course of debate on a question relating to the public lands, made an attack on New England, to which Webster replied in a way that stirred Hayne to a second and severer assault than before, and in this second speech the South Carolina Senator openly proclaimed and advocated nullification as a constitutional right. Webster then delivered his celebrated "Reply to Hayne," the very ablest speech he ever delivered in the Senate. The utterance passed at once

into popular literature, and for a generation afterwards parts of it were favorite selections for declamation in all the schools of the country. The speech is too familiarly known to everybody to require detailed analysis here. The keynote of its argument was that nullification could not be without revolution; that its peaceable exercise within the Union was manifestly impossible; and that its advocacy meant and could mean nothing other than a dissolution of the Union. To this argument Webster added one of the most persuasive and most impassioned pleas for perpetual union that even he ever uttered.

The advocates of nullification argued that historically the Union was an experimental compact between the States, and that the National Government was merely the creature of the States. So careful a student of history as Henry Cabot Lodge finds that the facts of history were thus far on the side of the nullificationists, and that even Webster failed to break down the historical contention made by them. But Webster passed from that to higher ground. He contended that the Constitution was a vital thing, capable of growth; that in the course of half a century it had changed its character, ceasing to be an experiment and becoming, by virtue of popular use and purpose, a perpetual bond of union; that what had been at first a mere voluntary confederacy of States had crystallized into a nation which could not be dissolved into its constituent elements except by the violent hand of revolution. In brief, Webster's argument was

precisely that upon which the National Government, a generation later, exercised the right to resist attempted secession by the employment of force. Without doubt, Webster's teaching, which had sunk deep into the minds and hearts of the people, was a very potent element of strength to the Union cause when civil war came with a threat to the integrity and perpetuity of the nation. He had done more than any other man to implant in the popular mind the conviction that the United States constitute a nation, not a confederacy,—a conviction so firmly rooted that neither radical abolitionism on the one hand nor secessionism on the other could turn the people from their purpose to maintain "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

In 1832, South Carolina undertook nullification in actual practice, and President Jackson issued his proclamation of a determination to enforce the laws at all hazards, and with all of power that he possessed. That power was manifestly inadequate, and the President asked Congress for specific authority to use the Army and Navy in compelling obedience to the laws. Many men in Congress, who repudiated the doctrine of nullification and deplored South Carolina's attempt to act upon it, were nevertheless unwilling to pass the measure asked for by the President. Then it was that Webster brought all the batteries of his legal learning and of his matchless oratory to the support of the President in his effort to uphold the Constitution and defend the Union. In political views

Webster was diametrically opposed to Jackson and to the party that had made him President. But in this matter he held Jackson to be absolutely right. He saw in him the only force that could successfully meet and avert the danger to the Union which nullification involved. He therefore thrust all other considerations into the background and unflinchingly supported a President all of whose political beliefs and policies he detested. He did so upon the simple and sufficient ground that in this grave crisis Jackson was the champion of right, and that the strengthening of his hands was necessary to the salvation of the country and the Constitution. At no crisis of his career was Webster greater than upon this occasion. At no time did his statesmanship rise to a higher level. At no time did he more boldly risk his reputation or more patriotically dare hostile criticism, in obedience to his convictions. He battled not for the President but for the national life, and in the long debate which followed with Calhoun he made it clear that the question at issue was not one to chop logic over, not one of nice historical or constitutional interpretation, but the simple one of whether the nation should survive or be destroyed, whether the Union should continue or should suffer disintegration.

In the event both sides in Congress weakened, and under the leadership of Clay a compromise was effected, a new tariff bill was passed to placate the nullifiers, and they in their turn relinquished their resistance to the enforcement of the revenue laws. But in the

meantime Webster had mightily reinforced among the people that passionate devotion to the Union which his eloquence had already done so much to establish.

Having supported the President in his struggle with nullification, Webster with equal vigor antagonized him in his warfare upon the National Bank. In the course of that contest Jackson claimed for the President, as the "direct representative of the people," powers, rights, and immunities such as the Constitution was clearly never intended to confer upon the executive branch of the government. He went so far as to rebuke Congress for venturing to censure his official acts, contending that that body had no constitutional right even to consider executive acts, far less to pass resolutions of censure upon them. In brief, he sought to read Cæsarism into the Constitution. On the other hand, Webster argued a little later for an equally dangerous perversion of the Constitution, in an opposite direction. He contended that the power of removal from office, like the power of appointment, is vested not in the President alone, but in the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Fortunately, neither of these perversions prevailed. Either would have destroyed the nice balance between the executive and the legislative power which the framers of the Constitution wisely sought to establish. The one would have given almost dictatorial powers to the President; the other would have stripped that officer of powers that are essential to executive independence and efficiency.

When, in the early thirties, the elements of opposition to Jackson began to form themselves into the Whig party, Webster seems to have turned his eyes for the first time toward the supreme prize of American political life, the presidency. He was both the ablest and the most famous American statesman of his time, with Henry Clay alone for a rival. He was the recognized champion of the policies for which the new party stood;—what was more natural than that he should expect to be made its candidate for the highest office in the country? This ambition was destined to disappointment, and the only effect of it upon his life and character was detrimental. As successive quadrennial elections approached, each suggesting golden possibilities to his imagination, he became more and more careful not to give offence in any quarter from which support might be expected to come, more and more regardful of his own political interests, more and more a time-server for personal advantage

In the first election in which the Whigs appeared as a party, the electoral vote of Massachusetts was cast for Webster, and that was the nearest approach he ever made to the coveted office. Dividing its votes among several candidates, the party was easily defeated. In 1840, Webster's confidence was strong that he would be chosen as the candidate of a united opposition, which had every prospect of success, especially in view of the financial disaster that had befallen in 1837, and which was attributed to the financial policy pursued by Jackson and his successor, Van

Buren. But, returning from a summer's visit to Europe, Webster was sorely disappointed to learn that the Whigs had taken a leaf out of the Democratic book. They had made an appeal to unreasoning popular enthusiasm by choosing William Henry Harrison for their leader.

Webster supported the candidate with loyalty and efficient vigor, and, in answer to the invitation of Harrison, who sought to surround himself with the very ablest men of his party, the Massachusetts statesman became the head of the Cabinet as Secretary of State. The tasks set him in this new capacity were extraordinarily perplexing. Our foreign relations, particularly our relations with Great Britain, were threateningly strained. The utmost tact and circumspection were required at every point, for at every point there lurked a threat of war. As if Fate itself were hostile, Harrison quickly died, and his successor, Tyler, speedily broke with his party and deeply offended the country. All the members of the Cabinet except Webster resigned, and a great popular clamor arose against Webster's course in remaining a member of the offending President's official family. It seems quite certain that Webster so remained only under a compelling sense of public duty. To remain was clearly dangerous to his own popularity and prospects. To retain his place was to give offence in quarters where a man with his ambitions could least afford to offend. To escape all danger, and to win a new popularity, he had only to resign as others had done. But, on the other hand, he

clearly saw that his continuance in office, pending the exceedingly delicate negotiations then in progress or in prospect, was necessary to the safety of the country itself. It was not certain that even he could avert a dangerous war with England by conducting those negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. It was quite certain that no successor to him was likely to accomplish that purpose. In this crisis Webster deliberately sacrificed his interests to his patriotism. He disregarded the popular clamor for his resignation. He remained at his post, and patiently worked at the problem of peacefully adjusting the country's international relations until that task was fully done. Then he resigned, in 1843, and retired to his law office in Boston.

In 1844, Webster was again disappointed in his presidential hopes. Clay, with his great popularity, was selected to lead the Whigs, and Webster, putting aside any chagrin he may have felt, made a strong oratorical canvass in his rival's behalf.

In the next year, Webster returned to the Senate, Polk being then President. Through the influence he had acquired with British statesmen while Secretary of State, Webster was able, by timely counsel to both sides, to bring about a settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute, which had seriously threatened a war with England.

In 1846 came the Mexican War, leading to the annexation of Texas and California—a vast region out of which a number of States and Territories have since been carved.

Webster earnestly opposed this acquisition, clearly foreseeing that it would not only add largely to our slave territory by the admission of Texas to the Union, but would very certainly reopen the entire slavery question in forms perilous to the country's peace. On Webster's own ambitions the war had an almost immediate effect. It deprived him of the presidential nomination in 1848, when his opportunity seemed at last to have come to him. The glory of Taylor's achievements in the war had filled the country with an enthusiasm that was blind to all but emotional considerations. Taylor had never cast a vote in his life, and nobody knew what his political opinions were, if he had any, as he probably had not. But his military glory made him "available," and the Whigs nominated him, at once recognizing and insulting Webster by an offer of the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He scornfully rejected the offer, and for a time refused to support the absurdly unfit candidate. It is interesting to reflect that, had he taken the second place, he would have achieved his long-cherished ambition, becoming President upon Taylor's death.

The acquisition of Texas and the California country speedily had the effect which Webster had foreseen. It reopened the slavery controversy in an aggravated and dangerous form. The South wanted slavery in the newly acquired regions; the North was more and more opposed to any extension of the area in which slavery was authorized by law. Many plans of solution were offered and rejected. Polk had proposed

that the question of slavery in the new Territories should be left open until those Territories, on becoming States, should settle the matter each in its own way; but that, in the meantime, the owners of slaves should be permitted to take their negroes with them, upon emigrating to the new regions. Another proposal, which came from the South, was to extend the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean, a plan which would in effect have made slave territory of all the region south of that line. From the North had come the proposal of the Wilmot Proviso, forbidding slavery in any of the newly acquired lands. The discussion grew daily angrier and more threatening to the public peace. The South demanded an effective law to compel the return of slaves fleeing into Northern States. California, under inspiration of great gold discoveries, had rapidly peopled itself, mainly with men of the North, and was now demanding admission to the Union under a constitution that forbade slavery. This the men of the South opposed, though with small reason to expect success, in view of the overwhelming preponderance of the anti-slavery sentiment on the Pacific coast. Added to all this, a new political party was rapidly forming at the North, whose shibboleth was "Free Soil." It disclaimed any purpose to interfere with slavery in the States where that institution already existed, but advocated the absolute and perpetual exclusion of the system from all the new Territories. In its composition the party was of course purely sectional, having no being elsewhere than in

the North. On the other hand, there was growing up at the South a party, equally sectional, still unorganized but strong in numbers and influence, which looked to the dissolution of the Union as the only way out of the difficulty.

So hotly was the conflict waged that the wisest statesmen became seriously apprehensive of bloody revolution. Then came forward Henry Clay, the great pacificator, with a new plan of adjustment. He proposed, by way of compromise, that California should be admitted, with its constitution forbidding slavery; that a stringent fugitive slave law should be enacted and enforced with all the power of the Federal Government; that the slave trade should be forbidden in the District of Columbia, but that slavery should never be abolished there without the consent of Maryland; that Congress should declare its lack of authority to interfere with the trade in slaves between the States in which the system was authorized; and that territorial governments should be established in the new possessions without any reference to slavery. This last was in effect a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery in any new State to be formed out of territory north of 36° 30′ north latitude.

Clay submitted his plan to Webster, who approved it and lent to it an advocacy without which it must almost certainly have failed of adoption. In its behalf he delivered his seventh-of-March speech — the last of his great orations.

His attitude in that speech was utterly inconsistent

with his activities on former occasions. His speech was a complete abandonment of the ground he had before held in uncompromising hostility to any extension of slavery into new Territories. It was welcomed at the South and bitterly resented at the North. Webster's critics have always insisted that it was a conscienceless abandonment of principle, intended to win Southern support for him as a candidate for the presidency in 1852 ; while his apologists have as stoutly contended that it was inspired by his overmastering devotion to the Union, the perpetuity of which he had long held to be a consideration immeasurably superior to all others. He himself argued that the compromise measures could not work any considerable extension of slavery, because, as he assumed, nature herself had established conditions that must forever render negro slavery unprofitable in the greater part of the region in dispute.

Upon Taylor's death, in July, 1850, Webster was called again to the Department of State as the head of Fillmore's Cabinet. This was the end of his career in the Senate, and the end of his life was not far off. In 1852, he made his last effort to be nominated for President, and failed. He felt the disappointment keenly. He refused to support his successful competitor, Scott, and took no part in the campaign, during the progress of which he died, on October 24, 1852.

His career was one of almost phenomenal success, marred, to his appreciation, by its failure to culminate in the honor he most coveted. His gifts were scarcely

matched by those of any other man who has played a large part in American history. In conspicuous ways he employed them for his country's good, sometimes at cost of self-sacrifice. Yet in other conspicuous ways he was often untrue to his convictions for the sake of personal advantage.

He lived in princely extravagance on other people's money, and died amid luxurious surroundings a hopeless bankrupt. His extraordinary learning in the law seems never to have included the moral code as a thing of binding obligation. He lived a life, the story of which is full of inspiration to high endeavor, and equally full of warning to the consciences of those who ponder it.

HENRY CLAY

FOR nearly half a century Henry Clay was the most conspicuous figure in American politics, the most influential statesman in the Councils of the Nation. When he first entered the Senate, to serve for a single session of an unexpired term, he was not yet thirty years of age — being, in fact, ineligible, if anybody had seen fit to raise that question, as, in fact, nobody did. Yet he at once assumed something of leadership, to which his fellow senators seemed instinctively to assent. When he finally left the Senate chamber for his death-bed, he had reached the age of seventy-six years; yet, even in the last hours of his service there, his was the commanding presence, his the dominant voice.

And "there were giants in those days," a fact which emphasizes the leadership of Clay, and impresses us strongly with the greatness of a mind and character which could so quickly seize, and so long hold, first place among the remarkable company of men who at that time had the destinies of the Republic in their keeping. Webster, Calhoun, John

Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Mason, Marcy, Silas Wright, Crittenden, Randolph, Buchanan, and a score of other men of high distinction, were Clay's contemporaries, his workfellows, or his antagonists in the direction of public affairs ; but not one of them, whether acting with him or opposing his policies, seems ever seriously to have thought of questioning his leadership of the cause he espoused. Even in that haughtiest of haughty assemblages — the Senate of the United States — it was Clay's custom to take matters into his own hands, formulate his ideas, and present them as a programme, after the manner of one who speaks with authority. Yet his course did not offend. That which, in another man would have been resented as an unwarranted assumption of the right to dictate, was accepted from him without protest. Often a majority was against him when he presented a measure or outlined a policy ; very often that majority yielded itself to the persuasiveness of his eloquence, or to the strangely compelling power of his will.

He was, indeed, a born leader of men. The readiness with which his legislative associates accepted his guidance was not more remarkable than the passionate enthusiasm with which great masses of the people made him their political idol, blindly and unquestioningly following him—not for a brief while, after the manner of hero-worship, but through scores of years, and even unto the end, in spite of repeated and disastrous defeats, in defiance of grave accusations against his character, in complacent disregard of clamorous



Henry Clay

From a lithograph



slanders, and unmoved by those inconsistencies, and worse, which at times marred his course.

His character and career were full of strange contrasts. Meagrely educated, and throughout life unaccustomed to thorough study, he yet impressed men everywhere with a belief in his superior wisdom, and his absolute mastery of the subjects with which he was called upon to deal. Greatly inferior as he was to Webster in his intellectual grasp, in his perception of principles, and in logical force, he was easily Webster's master in parliamentary debate and in eloquence of the kind that stirs men, persuades them, and in the end dominates them.

Like Webster, and, indeed, in common with almost all the statesmen of his time, Clay was inconsistent in his policies, and even unfaithful at times to his own profoundest convictions. Deploring slavery, he began his public career with an earnest effort to secure its extinction; yet in all the long struggle with the slave power he did more than any other statesman of the time to protect the institution against influences that tended to restrict and ultimately to make an end of it. He opposed a National Bank on the perfectly sound ground that such an institution must sooner or later come to exercise a malign and dangerous influence over public affairs, and become itself an agency of direct corruption. But half a dozen years later he advocated the establishment of another National Bank, and when it had fulfilled all his prophecies of evil, Clay made himself the most impassioned of its champions,

the most relentless foe of those who opposed it. Again, at the time of the Florida troubles, Clay contended that the Louisiana Purchase embraced and included all of Texas. He eloquently denounced the administration for surrendering our claim to that vast region. Yet when Texan annexation was in contemplation, he was the leader of the opposing forces. This and some other of his inconsistencies are explainable in ways altogether creditable to him, as will be seen hereafter; but some of his somersaults, shiftings, and inconsistencies, as will also appear, can be attributed to nothing but that impairment of character and mind which an overweening ambition to be President wrought in his case as it has done in so many others.

Much of his inconsistency may, indeed, be explained upon grounds that make of it, in fact, a higher consistency. Thus, when he was denounced at the North as a slaveholder and an apologist for slavery, while at the South he was stigmatized as an "abolitionist," both characterizations were, in a measure, correct, as Clay himself knew and felt.

He did, indeed, earnestly desire the extinction of slavery; he did favor policies which he believed would ultimately accomplish that end. To that extent he was an "abolitionist." But, in 1820, in 1833, and again in 1850, as we shall see later, it was Clay who, by his compromises, secured for the slave States legislation which for the time being satisfied them. Under the circumstances then existing, no other man

in Congress or out of it could have accomplished that result. To that extent he was, in fact, the champion of the slave power.

There was inconsistency here, of course, and it was said by his enemies that he "carried water on both shoulders" in aid of his presidential aspirations. In the latter case, at least, that motive could not have been operative. For in 1850 he had distinctly and finally put aside his ambition to be President, refusing to be considered again as a candidate in terms too explicit and too emphatic to leave room for doubt as to his sincerity. And, even as regards his action on the two earlier occasions of compromise, it is not necessary to suppose a selfish motive, in order to explain his course. There is another and sufficient explanation. From beginning to end of his career, Henry Clay had one all-dominating idea and purpose —the perpetuity and the glory of the American Union. To that he stood always ready to make any sacrifice. It was in the sincere belief that the Union was in danger that he brought forward his successive compromise measures. Those measures did violence to his convictions of right, but for the sake of that Union which he regarded as essential to the maintenance of popular self-government, he advocated them. It was, in his belief, a sacrifice of unimportant for supremely important principles, a relinquishment of the smaller for the greater good.

His course on these occasions was unquestionably inspired by the loftiest patriotism, even when his

policies were mistaken. And it was all in accordance with his convictions and the temper of his mind. He was by nature the "great pacificator." He firmly believed that a republic, and more especially a federal republic, could be held together only by a spirit of mutual concession and a policy of compromise. In that belief, and for the sake of the country's life, he advocated measures that could not satisfy either himself or any partisan on either side—measures that were bound of necessity to bring condemnation and distrust upon himself from both sides. He did not comprehend the truth that there was an "irrepressible conflict" between the advocates and the opponents of slavery. He did not fully or clearly understand that, as Lincoln later phrased it, this Republic could not "permanently endure half free and half slave." He believed that all questions arising out of slavery could be adjusted by compromise and permanently set at rest. To that end he labored, only to find that after each settlement the issue again and quickly presented itself, usually in a more dangerous form than before.

With respect to tariff protection, Clay's opinions underwent a radical change, as indeed did those of most statesmen of that time on both sides of the issue. Webster began as a declared free-trader by opposing Clay's "American System," and ridiculing it. He ended by advocating and voting for the most extreme protectionist measures that were ever thought of during the first half of the nineteenth century. Calhoun began by demanding protection as a "right" of the

Southern States, and ended as the author and advocate of nullification as a necessary means of ridding the South of what he held to be unendurable oppression in the shape of a protective tariff. Clay's change of view was scarcely less radical. At first he was a free-trader in principle, and advocated only a very mild measure of protection, to be continued only for a brief period. He desired simply to use protective duties so far as might be necessary to render the country independent of foreign markets in time of war. That is to say, he desired a very moderate protection, applied only to the manufacture of clothing and military and naval supplies, especially the hempen rope for which the farmers of his own State furnished the raw material. He did not desire to encourage manufactures generally. He looked with something akin to abhorrence upon the suggestion that the United States might ultimately become a great manufacturing nation, able to export the products of its skilled labor. He declared the natural industry of this country to be farming, and held that the exports of the United States should always consist of agricultural products. He pointed to the condition of things in Manchester and Birmingham as a warning to his countrymen of the danger of so stimulating manufactures as to create a large class of operatives, dependent upon mill-work for their living. He hoped to limit protection to such moderate and temporary encouragement as might be necessary to enable the country to provide for its people's simplest necessities, with the aid of such domestic weaving as

was then common in western and southern households.

This was his attitude in the year 1816. Eight years later he was the champion and sponsor of protection for its own sake, and of the farthest expansion of manufacturing industry that tariff duties could bring about. He called that the "American system," though, as Webster pointed out, ours was the only civilized country that had never adopted it. The opposite system he dubbed "European," though, as Webster again demonstrated, no European country had ever accepted it. His phrases were meant to be catch words, disingenuously appealing to ignorant patriotism. He deliberately declared that the prosperity of every country was measured by the extent to which it "protected" its industries, citing England, with its then oppressive laws in restraint of importation, as an example to be imitated in America. A few years later, in 1833, he pushed through Congress a tariff measure of a directly opposite character, providing for the gradual but rapid lowering of duties to a revenue basis, and the great enlargement of the free list.

For his course in this latter case, the explanation was obvious enough. South Carolina had gone into a species of revolt against the extremely high tariff measure of 1828 and Clay's amendments of 1832. Nullification had been decreed by a convention of that State, and Clay believed, not without reason, that in spite of Jackson's firmness, the Union was in serious danger of disruption and a devastating civil war. To

save the Union, he stood ready to sacrifice protection or anything else. It was solely as a Union-saving compromise that he conceived and put through Congress his low-tariff bill of 1833.

Clay had the very meagrest educational advantages, and it was never his habit to repair the deficiency by systematic or even diligent reading. His great readiness of mind and his unusual capacity to absorb information, enabled him quickly to achieve a superficial mastery of any subject with which he was called upon to deal, but he was content with superficiality, depending upon his intellectual alertness, and his almost incredible aptitude in presenting a case, to make his acquirements seem profound.

He was born in the slashes of Hanover County, Virginia, on April 12, 1777. The only schools he ever attended were of the "old field" kind, and there he learned only reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic. At the age of fourteen he went to Richmond, where he served for a year as a boy in a store. A year afterward he secured employment in the clerk's office of the Court of Chancery. A little later he became amanuensis to Chancellor George Wythe, the head of the High Court, and his association with that able and high-minded jurist did much to direct Clay's youthful mind toward better things than his surroundings might otherwise have suggested. From Wythe, certainly, Clay imbibed his early views as to slavery. Wythe was one of the many Virginians of his time who regarded negro slavery as a wrong to

the negro and a curse to the white man—an inheritance of evil which it was desirable to get rid of as speedily as possible. Accordingly, he had manumitted his own slaves and expended the greater part of his fortune in providing them with the means of self-support. The sentiment and the convictions that inspired him were common in Virginia at that day, and such a man as George Wythe could give free utterance to them without fear of offending.

From the Chancellor's service, young Clay passed to a law office as a student, and with only such superficial knowledge of the law as a single year of study could give him he was admitted to the bar. Thus equipped, he set out for Kentucky, whither his mother and his stepfather had preceded him. He was at that time only twenty years of age, yet he quickly won success at the bar, and became remarked as a young man of unusual intellectual gifts. When only twenty-two years old, Clay took an active part as a speaker in the canvass for the election of a convention to revise the constitution of Kentucky. With a courage that must be admired, he advocated a constitutional provision for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in that State, and so brilliant was his oratory that, although his cause was overwhelmingly defeated, his espousal of the unpopular view did not impair his young fame or seriously interfere with his political prospects. In 1803 he was elected to the Legislature. In 1806 he was so far distinguished as a lawyer that Aaron Burr employed him as counsel. In the same

year he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate, where he immediately took a leading part in debate and on important committees. His term ended in March, 1807, and he was elected again to the Kentucky Legislature, where his capacity of leadership was promptly recognized by his elevation to the speakership of the Assembly. It was at this time that the growing intensity of the anti-British feeling found insane expression in a bill to forbid the citing of British court decisions or the reading of British law text-books in the courts of Kentucky. But for Clay's influence, that absurd and destructive measure would have been made into law. Clay left the chair and, in one of his singularly lucid expository speeches, so far enlightened the minds of his fellow-legislators as to save the State from the proposed folly.

It was at this time, too, that he first put forward his doctrine of home manufacture, in a resolution urging Kentucky legislators and officials to wear no clothing not made in America. Politics and law-giving were attended in those days with more or less of danger, and Clay was wounded in a duel with Humphrey Marshall, growing out of the debate on this resolution. Later in life, Clay severely condemned duelling as barbarous, unchristian, and unworthy of civilized men. But with that inconsistency which was characteristic of him, he not long after that utterance fought with John Randolph. As he continued all his life to desire the extinction of slavery, and to pride himself on his early advocacy of emancipation, yet continued also to hold

slaves and to advocate measures in behalf of slavery, so he condemned duelling but continued to practise it.

In 1806, Clay was again made a Senator of the United States, to fill out the two years of an unexpired term. During this period he for the first time fully expounded his policy of narrowly limited tariff protection, designed to render the country independent of foreign markets in time of war, but to avoid the extensive diversion of capital from agriculture to manufactures, and especially to avoid the creation of a considerable class of mill-operatives. It was during the next few years, also, that he supported in the House the West Florida occupation, put forth the theory that the Louisiana Purchase included Texas, and opposed the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank on the ground that the creation of such a corporation by the national authority was manifestly unconstitutional, and that the existence of the bank was dangerous to the public welfare. His argument in this behalf was so able and convincing that even he could not satisfactorily answer it when he afterwards became the bank's champion.

In 1811, Clay was for the first time elected to the House of Representatives, and so well recognized was his gift of leadership that he was at once made Speaker. During all the succeeding time of his service in the House, he was chosen Speaker in every Congress almost without opposition, except on a few occasions, when for personal reasons he refused the office. From

first to last there was nobody to question his primacy in a body that directly represented the people.

Clay promptly made himself the foremost champion of war with England. He used all his splendid eloquence in "firing the popular heart" against British aggressions. He pictured to the country a gloriously victorious struggle, embracing the conquest of Canada, the capture of Quebec, and a peace to be dictated by American commissioners at Halifax. So convincing were his plans of campaign, and so fascinating his foreshadowings of glorious victory, that Gallatin had to labor with President Madison to prevent him from appointing Clay Commander-in-chief of the armies in the field.

The contrast between the all-conquering career predicted for our armies by the orator who was chiefly instrumental in bringing the war about, and the actual occurrences of that war, would have destroyed the popularity of almost any other man than Clay. He, strange favorite of fortune, was scarcely at all hurt by the humiliation inflicted upon the country. After our attempts upon Canada had ended in disastrous reverses and in the shameful surrender of Hull's army, —after the British had ravaged our coasts, made themselves masters of Washington City, burned the Capitol, destroyed the public records, and subjected our national pride to a bitter humiliation which was not yet solaced by Jackson's extraordinary victory at New Orleans,—after all this, Clay was still so conspicuous a statesman that he was made one of the commissioners

to negotiate the treaty of Ghent So sorely, however, did he personally feel the shame of the outcome, that when, after the signing of a peace treaty, he was ordered to London to assist in the negotiation of a commercial treaty, he hesitated, lingering in Paris until news of Jackson's victory in a battle fought after the conclusion of peace brought solace to his mind, and gave the people at home an opportunity to vaunt American superiority in arms as one of the truths demonstrated by the war.

Clay's star showed no dimming. He was still in favor with the administration, and almost an object of worship among the people. Madison offered him the high post of Minister to Russia, which he declined. The people of his district again chose him to represent them in Congress, and on his return to Washington in December, 1815, the House promptly elected him Speaker, with scarcely any opposition.

He now brought forward his first protective tariff measure, known in history as the tariff of 1816. It represented a remarkable change in his views on the subject of protection. The rates of duty imposed by the measure were very moderate in comparison with those afterwards advocated by Clay, but they were imposed with the distinct and avowed purpose of protecting manufactures, and creating the very conditions which Clay had before so eloquently deprecated as dangerous to the happiness and even to the liberties of the people. He still clung to the belief, or put forward the pretence, that the protective sys-

tem was only a temporary expedient, intended to meet a situation which must presently pass away ; that as soon as our "infant industries" were able to maintain themselves without government aid, they would cease to ask sustenance from the law ; that as soon as they were able to walk alone, they would cast aside the crutches of protection ; and that the people had only to submit to a temporary exaction of tribute in order to see these industrial children, nourished into a lusty and helpful youth, needing and asking nothing further of their nursing mother, the government.

It is possible that Clay believed all this. It is possible that the ingenuity of his intellect was sufficient to deceive himself, as it deceived others, with these predictions of altruism on the part of those to whom the people were asked to pay tribute. If so, how greatly he was misled ! How fallacious was his foresight ! How conspicuously his prophecies failed of fulfilment !

The fact seems to be that Clay always deceived himself when the deception served his cherished purposes. Imperfectly educated as he was, untrained in thorough research, instinctively and by habit content with superficial inquiry, enthusiastic far beyond the common, and gifted with a highly creative imagination, he was always able to persuade himself of the soundness of any views that might accord with his immediate desires, however flatly they might contradict his views of the day before.

His course in 1816 afforded another illustration of

these tendencies. We have seen that he made himself the most conspicuous adversary of the United States Bank when it sought to have its charter renewed in 1811. He opposed it on every ground. He held that it threatened the creation of a great, oppressive, and dangerously corrupting money-power, immeasurably inimical to the public welfare and peculiarly menacing to free popular government. He went farther, and challenged the constitutionality of the act under which the bank existed. Still further, he contended that Congress could not enact any constitutional measure chartering a bank or any other corporation. In one of the most logical and convincing speeches he ever made, he argued that the Constitution makes no grant of such power, and dwelt upon the absurdity of the claim that a grant of such power could be in any wise inferred or implied as incidental to the exercise of any of the granted powers of the National Government. He made, in short, the very ablest and most conclusive argument that was ever made by anybody to show both the unconstitutionality and the extreme undesirability of a National Bank's existence. It was largely due to his efforts that the charter renewal was withheld and that the bank went out of being. Between that time and the year 1816 there had been no change in the Constitution or in the principles of constitutional interpretation; certainly nothing had occurred to render a vast organized money-power less dangerous to the public welfare than it had been half a dozen years before.

Yet in 1816, when it was proposed to establish another Bank of the United States, Clay easily persuaded himself that the constitutional objections which he had before urged with such force and fervor were unsound, and that the dangers to popular liberty before which he had stood appalled were chimerical. So overmastering was his influence in this new and strange behalf that it is not exaggeration to call him the creator of the bank which in 1816 received a charter to run during the next twenty years.

In that and the immediately succeeding years, Clay busied himself with efforts to establish a system of internal improvements—canals, roads, etc.—to be constructed by the National Government. He also strenuously advocated the recognition of the Spanish American Republics. His fervid imagination then, and for years afterwards, pictured those turbulent and chronically revolutionary states as republics like our own, founded upon well-ordered conceptions of human liberty and popular self-government. His fancy could scarcely have gone further astray. But the generosity and high patriotism that inspired his course under this mistaken conception of facts did honor to his character, to say the least of the matter.

He continued to be Speaker in the successive Congresses, and in all of them exercised an influence which it would be impossible for the very wisest and ablest to command in our time. Congress was then a deliberative assembly, and not, as now, a mere collection of carefully selected committees. There were

no "gag" rules to prevent debate. Orators in Congress were at that day accustomed to speak, not merely "for the Record," but with actual intent to influence the votes of members, and very generally with that result. Clay, although Speaker, was accustomed to take a large and very masterful part in the debates, especially making the sessions in Committee of the Whole his opportunity.

Another circumstance that enabled Clay at that time to make all his influence effective, was the absence of party divisions. The Federalist party was dead by suicide. Its unpatriotic course and attitude during the War of 1812–15 had completely discredited and destroyed it. Moreover, the republicanism of Jefferson, which had been gravely feared in the early days of the Republic as something akin to anarchism, or at the least something with anarchistic tendencies, had commended itself during the sixteen years of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations, and when Monroe became President there was no party left in opposition. Even those who had been the Federalist leaders, or a majority of them, had accepted the more liberal doctrines and policies of the party of young America.

In these circumstances personal influence, skill in debate, and persuasive eloquence were far more effective forces of legislation than under ordinary conditions. They encountered no strong party spirit. They were not baffled of their purposes by the organized and drilled forces of party opposition.

It was under these conditions that Clay was called

upon to deal, for the first time, with a great, strenuous, country-racking issue. The Territory of Missouri, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, sought admission to the Union as a State in 1819. Slavery existed in the Territory and the people there desired to continue it. It was proposed in Congress that an enabling act should be passed, permitting Missouri to adopt a constitution and apply for admission. An attempt was made to insert a clause in this enabling act, providing that the constitution of the new State should forbid slavery, and making that a condition of admission. Thus, for the first time the slavery question presented itself in Congress in a practical and seriously disturbing form. Clay—though he deprecated slavery, advocated gradual emancipation, and hoped for the ultimate extinction of the system—nevertheless opposed with all his force and fervor this restrictive clause, designed to prevent the extension of slavery into new territory. Debate ran high in Congress and in the country. Finally Clay adopted and made his own a plan of compromise suggested by Senator Thomas of Illinois. This plan was to admit Missouri as a slave State, but to provide by law that slavery should not thereafter be permitted in any State formed out of territory lying north of 36° 30′, north latitude,—that being the southern boundary line of Missouri. Under Clay's strong advocacy, this compromise measure was adopted.

But the matter did not end there. When Missouri made formal application for statehood it was found that her proposed constitution not only authorized slavery,

but forbade free negroes from other States to immigrate into her Territory. Instantly the controversy was reopened in a more difficult form than before, and Clay, in his character of "the great pacificator," secured a reference of the matter to a special committee, of which he was made chairman. In conjunction with a like committee of the Senate, this body adopted and reported a resolution, drawn by Clay, to the effect that Missouri should be admitted upon condition that the State should never enact a law forbidding any class of American citizens from settling within her borders. The adoption of this resolution, Missouri's assent to it, and her admission to the Union in 1821, completed the famous Missouri Compromise. It was the first of those pacifications which Clay's life-long policy of concession and compromise brought into being. He, and indeed most of the statesmen of the time, fondly believed that it would make an end of all irritation growing out of the slavery issue. Texas, New Mexico, California, and Utah were not then United States possessions, even in prospect. Louisiana was already a State. The compromise seemed, therefore, to limit the future extension of slavery to the single Territory of Arkansas, while providing that all the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase should come into the Union only as free States. It was everywhere believed to be a permanent settlement of all questions touching slavery extension. Men did not then foresee the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of New Mexico, California, and Utah. Nor did they sufficiently take into account the fact that one

Congress cannot bind another; that a law is always subject to repeal by the same power that enacted it; that the Missouri Compromise was effected by the mere enactment of a statute which Congress could repeal at pleasure. Nevertheless, for the time being, the compromise did settle the slavery question and remove it from politics as a subject of irritating controversy.

At the end of this Congress, Clay declined a re-election. His personal finances needed his attention, and with a view to their repair he returned to the practice of his profession, a practice which was always lucrative when he had time to attend to it. But after a brief interval he was again made a Representative. When he returned to Congress in December, 1823, he was immediately chosen again to the Speakership. In that Congress he made his second marked advance toward extreme protection, with his tariff of 1824.

It was in 1824 that he first came before the country as a candidate for the presidency. The conditions were peculiar, and at first they seemed strongly to favor Clay. As has been already explained in this essay, there was only one party in the country, which is equivalent to saying that there was none. Practically all men were Republicans. Four years before Monroe had been elected to a second term almost without opposition, only one electoral vote being cast against him. But while the "era of good feeling," as it was called, had not yet given place in 1824 to a party division, there were strong personal rivalries in play, and Clay was one of four candidates for the

presidency — the other three being Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. Adams was the legitimate successor of Monroe, according to the tradition then prevailing, which made the Secretary of State heir presumptive if not quite heir apparent. Jackson ran upon the record of his astonishing military achievements, and was a popular idol. Crawford had much strength, and was supported by many politicians of shrewdness and great industry. Clay was unquestionably the most influential statesman of the time, and his very legitimate aspirations were supported by an almost passionate popularity. But for the furor of enthusiasm awakened in behalf of Jackson by the memory of his military exploits, and by the feeling among the people West and South that he alone of the candidates was one of themselves, there is little reason to doubt that Clay's chances of election would have been excellent. As it was, he was fourth in the poll of electoral votes, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. There the voting was by States, each State having one vote and no more, and Clay was not eligible, by reason of the constitutional requirement that the House should choose a President from among the three candidates having the highest number of electoral votes. As he was not one of those three he could not be made President, but he was obviously the President-maker. His influence in the House was so dominant that, as every one clearly saw, the choice of a president in effect rested with him. Crawford having become almost helpless

in consequence of a paralytic stroke, the choice lay between Jackson and Adams alone, and their respective partisans entered into a fierce struggle for the favor of Clay, who for a considerable time did not indicate his intentions. Jackson and he were not on good terms. He had censured Jackson's course in Florida, criticising the general somewhat severely in a speech in Congress. Jackson had shown his resentment in successive affronts to Clay, and the two had ceased to associate in any way. But Jackson now sought a reconciliation with the man who could make him President or defeat him for that office, as he might choose. A peace was effected over a succession of dinners, but Clay did not yet declare his purpose. Jackson's friends induced the Kentucky Legislature to request that State's members of Congress to vote for him, but Clay paid no heed to the request, and the members from Kentucky remained obedient to Clay's will. Finally, an attempt was made to frighten Clay from his anticipated purpose to give his influence to Adams. Through an anonymous letter, afterwards avowed by a ridiculously unimportant member of Congress from Pennsylvania, it was asserted that Clay and Adams had made a corrupt bargain, by the terms of which Clay was to secure Adams's election and Adams in return was to make Clay Secretary of State. Clay denounced the charge as an atrocious falsehood, and the House sustained him. But the cry of "bargain and corruption" would not down. Although Adams testified to its falsity, and its malignant untruth was

otherwise made apparent, it was repeated by Jackson and his friends for almost a generation afterwards, to Clay's great disadvantage.

To this result Clay himself somewhat contributed. When the day of election came Clay and his following supported Adams, electing him on the first ballot, and when Adams made up his Cabinet Clay accepted the post of Secretary of State. There is now no doubt that Adams in offering him the place consulted only the public welfare, or that Clay, in accepting it, acted with entirely upright motives. But to great multitudes of people the facts presented themselves as conclusive proof of the truth of the old, scandalous charge. Jackson aided it by insisting, then and afterwards, that he had been cheated of the office, and that the will of the people, expressed in his plurality of electoral votes, had been overridden by a corrupt bargain. Jackson probably believed this to be true. It was his habit of mind to believe every man a scoundrel who differed with him in opinion, and especially every man who stood in the way of his purposes. Others believed it, too, and not long after Clay became Secretary of State, John Randolph, whether he believed it or not, openly denounced both Clay and Adams, characterizing their official association as "the coalition of Blifil and Black George, the combination of the Puritan with the blackleg." A duel between Clay and Randolph resulted.

A great hostility to the administration arose. In Congress and in the country a party division was formed, not upon any question of principle or policy,

but solely upon the issue of support or hostility to the administration. Its every act was questioned and resisted. Its purposes were denounced, and Jackson, in a letter, went so far as to suggest that Adams held office illegally and by usurpation. The old "bargain and corruption" charge was reiterated and again refuted, this time by testimony that could not reasonably be questioned. But Jackson calmly asserted that the testimony offered in refutation of it in fact proved its truth, and the unreading and unthinking multitude accepted that view. Still viler charges were made against Adams, one of them accusing him of personal conduct in Russia which would be possible only to the lowest and most depraved of human beings.

The result of all this appeared in the election for the twentieth Congress. When that body assembled in December, 1827, it had a majority opposed to the administration, a thing unprecedented in the history of the country. The session of 1827–28 was stormy beyond anything ever before seen, and resulted in the enactment of only one bill of public consequence—the "tariff of abominations."

Meantime the presidential campaign was in progress. Adams was of course a candidate for re-election, and, equally of course, Jackson was the candidate in opposition. It is entirely safe and not extravagant to say that this was the bitterest, most scandalous, and most demoralizing canvas ever made in the country, before or since. The shame of it was so great that many enlightened men in all parts of the country began to despair

of the Republic, and of the system upon which it rests.

Jackson was elected, and Clay, though himself not a candidate, was deeply grieved at a result which seemed to reflect upon himself.

In 1831, Clay accepted an election to the Senate, and during the next year busied himself with a new tariff measure, amending that of 1828, and strengthening some of its protective features, while lowering the duties on articles not made in this country, in order to reduce the revenues, which were already excessive, and which promised to become dangerously so with the extinguishment of the public debt, then near at hand.

It was in resistance to the tariff of 1828, as amended by Clay's bill of 1832, that nullification was attempted in South Carolina. Jackson took resolute ground in opposition to the movement, declared in a proclamation that he would enforce the laws at all costs, and called upon Congress for the military means and authority to do so. For a time there was very grave apprehension throughout the country. The disruption of the Union was threatened, and civil war seemed imminent. Again Clay came forward in his character of "pacificator." He framed and succeeded in passing a new tariff bill which provided for a gradual and progressive lowering of the protective duties to about the rate imposed by the mild first protective tariff measure — that of 1816. The compromise was effected mainly by Clay's exertions. Nullification ceased its menace, and the country was again at rest. Clay had

won new credit, and in a great degree recovered the ground lost during the presidential campaign of 1832.

But in that campaign he had made the worst blunder of his life. He was put in nomination for the presidency as a candidate of the new National Republican or Whig party,—the party opposing Jackson. He deliberately forced into the campaign an issue which, but for his initiative, would not have been raised at that time, and upon that issue mainly he lost the election. Jackson had sent three messages to Congress, criticising the Bank of the United States. In the first and second messages he had suggested that instead of renewing the charter of that institution, Congress should create a bank of different character. Congress had refused to consider the matter seriously, the President's own adherents refusing to support his proposal, while his Secretary of the Treasury made elaborate reports in support of the existing institution, reports in precise contradiction of Jackson's assumptions. Accordingly, in his third message, Jackson had expressed his wish to drop the matter.

The bank's charter would not expire until 1836, three years after the expiration of Jackson's first term. There was, therefore, not the slightest occasion for Congress to deal with the matter in 1831–32. Still less was there reason to thrust the bank question into the presidential campaign of 1832, at risk, and indeed with the certainty, of losing the votes of all men who thought the bank a source of danger. But in the face of advice to the contrary, urged upon him by his most devoted

and wisest supporters, Clay insisted upon making the question of rechartering the bank the "dominant issue" of the campaign. To that end he had the convention that nominated him issue a "ringing" address on the subject, and persuaded the bank to make immediate application to Congress for the renewal of its charter.

Clay's purpose in all this was to make an issue on which he could defeat Jackson. He made one on which Jackson defeated him overwhelmingly. Years before, as we have seen, Clay had made an elaborate argument to show the unconstitutionality of the bank's existence; in vetoing the recharter bill, Jackson deliberately adopted Clay's own reasoning on that point, to the orator's immitigable confusion. On that earlier occasion, too, Clay had sought to alarm the people with the spectre of a great, chartered money-power, threatening to liberty, corrupting statesmen for its own advantage, using its resources for political purposes, and making of itself an unscrupulous and well-nigh irresistible force in the control of elections and legislation. In 1832 he deliberately sought to fulfil his own prophecy. He forced the bank to take a dangerously active part in politics in his behalf, to the very great alarming of the people. He had thought, by thrusting the bank issue into the campaign, to alienate from Jackson those of his party who shared the opinion of Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury, that the bank was sound, well managed, and publicly useful, and that it ought to receive an extension of its charter; he suc-

ceeded instead in driving such men into hostility to the bank as the enemy of Jackson. He succeeded also in alienating many of his own adherents, who, taking alarm at the bank's interference in politics, abandoned his support on that issue alone. Thousands of voters who had never before thought or cared anything about the bank were awakened to the danger that lurked in its vast and unrestrained power. They saw it for the first time endeavoring to control an election and itself choose a president to its liking. They understood for the first time how, by granting or withholding its favors, it could make or mar the fortune of individuals; how, in the same way, it could bring prosperity to one city, or state, or section, and distress and ruin to another; how it even held in its hands the power to control the financial markets of the entire country, making money scarce or plentiful as the speculative purposes of its managers might suggest,—a power which the bank actually exercised a little later with results calamitous to the country. In brief, scores of thousands who had never before concerned themselves with the matter were taught to look upon the bank as the all-threatening monster that Jackson represented it to be, and to regard Jackson as the only man who could save them from its clutch.

If Clay had not forced this issue into the campaign, if he had not needlessly compelled the bank to engage in political activities that alarmed the people and justified Jackson's attitude, he might or might not have become President. But having made that blunder, his

case was hopeless. He was himself indeed confident to the end, and the result was a staggering blow to him. Jackson had 219 electoral votes; Clay only 49.

The nullification crisis, of which an account has already been given, occurred in 1833. Clay shared Jackson's view of nullification and, as we have seen, devised as a remedy his compromise tariff bill, relieving the country of onerous protective duties by annual reductions, until the maximum should fall in 1841 to twenty per cent. But it was not upon many subjects that Clay and Jackson could agree, and the Senate leader was soon as bitterly at war with the President as ever. Clay opposed Jackson at every point, and with an extreme bitterness of personal feeling which Jackson returned with interest. The crisis came on the subject of the bank. Not content with having vetoed the bill to extend that institution's charter, and fearing that it might have better success during the three years it had yet to live, Jackson determined to destroy it without waiting for the expiration of its lease of existence. He ordered the Secretary of the Treasury, who alone had legal authority to do so, to remove the government deposits from the bank. The Secretary refused. Jackson substituted another Secretary for him, but he too refused to obey the mandate. Then Jackson gave the place to Roger B. Taney, who did his will by ordering that there should be no further deposits of government funds in the bank, and that the funds already there should be drawn out, as needed to meet treasury expenditures, until all were withdrawn. This

was done upon Jackson's actual or pretended conviction that the bank was financially unsound, and therefore an unfit custodian of the government's money. But there is no room for doubt that he was chiefly influenced by resentment of the bank's efforts to defeat his election.

The bank retaliated by enormously curtailing its loans, upon the plea that the prospective withdrawal of the deposits compelled it to that course. The real purpose seems clearly to have been to cripple business, and thus compel a relenting in the warfare upon the bank — perhaps even to arouse an overmastering popular sentiment in favor of extending its lease of life.

The excitement was intense. All else in politics was subordinated to this issue, and in the debates that followed the most virulent personalities often took the place of argument. Clay levelled his heaviest guns at the President. He introduced resolutions in the Senate censuring Jackson and declaring that the President had "assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws." After an acrimonious debate, the Senate adopted the resolutions, and Jackson replied with a "protest," which he demanded should be recorded on the journal of the Senate. In this astonishing document he declared that the Senate had transcended its constitutional authority by adopting, and even by considering, such resolutions. He urged that the Senate's action had been in effect an impeachment, without any of the prescribed forms and safeguards of a trial. He claimed for the President, as

"the direct representative of the people," powers and duties never before suggested, and declared it to be his right and his duty to protect the Republic, if need be, against senatorial usurpation, and much else of an astonishing sort. Clay replied with eloquent denunciation, and later made a serious effort to curtail the President's powers. He sought to repeal the law which limited government officers to four-years' terms, and to secure an enactment forbidding the President to remove office-holders from place without the advice and consent of the Senate, after the submission of reasons for the proposed removal. This effort led to sharp debate, but it came to nothing. A few years later, Jackson's friends being in a majority in the Senate, a resolution was brought forward to expunge from the Senate records Clay's resolutions of censure upon Jackson. This called forth from Clay one of the most eloquent speeches he ever made, in which he denounced Jackson with a passionate fervor such as only he knew how to manifest while keeping within the rules of debate.

Meanwhile the bank, as a national institution, was dead. It continued business for a time under a state charter, but ultimately failed, its stockholders losing all their investments. The condition thus revealed was cited by Jackson's friends as proof that the institution had been bankrupt when he had declared it to be so—a conclusion which did not logically follow from the premises, whether it was in fact correct or not.

During the session of 1835–36 the slavery question, after its habit, presented itself again in Congress in dis-

turbing shape. The sentiment in favor of abolition had led to the formation of anti-slavery societies throughout the North, but especially in New England. These societies bombarded Congress with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, where the National Government is supreme, and where there is neither State nor local authority to question the power of Congress. Efforts were made in the Senate to stop the annoyance of these ceaseless petitions, either by flatly refusing to receive them or by agreeing to lay them on the table as soon as received, and thus disposing of them without committee reference or consideration in any other way. This was opposed on the ground that the right of petition is sacred, that it inheres in every citizen by virtue of his citizenship, and that it is a right essential to republican self-government.

Thus a new element was introduced into the slavery question. The opponents of slavery were enabled to take position as men defending one of the inherent and sacred rights of freemen, and in some degree to put the advocates of slavery and its apologists in the attitude of men denying that fundamental right. The battle raged long and fiercely in both Houses of Congress, with a consequent agitation among the people.

As usual, Clay took what he regarded as the safe middle course. After his habit, he sought for grounds of compromise, in the hope that thus once more the disturbing spectre might be laid. He opposed the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia without the previous consent of Virginia and Maryland, arguing

that such abolition would inflict a wrong and bring danger upon those States, which had ceded the District to the nation. But he favored the continued reception of anti-slavery petitions, and opposed attempts then making to authorize postmasters to remove anti-slavery literature from the mails.

In the election of 1836 Clay was not a candidate, and Martin Van Buren, selected by Jackson to be his successor, was elected. Almost immediately after his accession there broke upon the country a financial panic such as had never been known before. It was in part the result of Jackson's dealing with the bank and in part due to other causes. The story of it does not concern the subject of the present essay, except that it prepared the way for a Whig victory in 1840. As is usual when financial stress and business prostration afflict the country, the people laid the blame upon the party in power, and clamorously demanded a change. The Whigs had no particular policy to offer as a remedy, but at any rate the Democrats, under whom the catastrophe had come, must be ousted from their control of the government, and it required very little political foresight to discover that the Whigs would carry the country in 1840 by an overwhelming majority. In fact, their candidate received 234 electoral votes with only 60 against him. But Clay was not their candidate. This was the one occasion on which they could easily and certainly have made him President. But they turned to another instead. They chose as their candidate William Henry Harrison, as they had done in 1836.

He was a man possessed of no knowledge or experience in public affairs, a man having in fact no qualifications whatever for the high office he was chosen to fill. But he was a soldier, "a hero," and he had overthrown the power of the Indian chief Tecumseh. He lived plainly, like one of the people, and had never "put on airs." So the Whigs nominated him and went into the campaign with a positively insane enthusiasm. It was a campaign of catch-words, hero-worship, torch-light processions, and meaningless hurrahs. It represented nothing of principle or policy, and its result could mean nothing except that the people were minded to dismiss one party from power and to install another in its stead, without stopping to ask what either of them represented or what either would do with power upon attaining to it. But this purely senseless campaign was extraordinarily successful.

Harrison entered upon office apparently with only one well-defined purpose, namely, to put the very strongest men he could find into his Cabinet. He made Webster its chief, and asked Clay to accept a place, which he, however, declined. The clamorous office-seekers drove Harrison to his death within a month, and he was succeeded by the Vice-President, Tyler—the first Vice-President who had ever become President in that way.

As we have seen, the Whigs had no definite policy. The party stood for nothing in particular, and it had nominated Tyler for Vice-President without inquiring what his political convictions might be. As the event

proved, he was far more a Democrat than anything else. He was a strict constructionist and an anti-bank man. Upon taking office he retained the Cabinet appointed by Harrison, and for a time it was supposed that his administration would accord with the views and wishes of the great Whig leaders—Clay and Webster more especially. Chief among those wishes was that a new United States Bank should be chartered. Clay introduced a measure providing for that end and it was passed. Tyler vetoed it. Clay framed another bill in a form which he thought would meet the President's objections, but Tyler vetoed that also. Indeed, he broke so completely with the party that had elected him that all the members of his Cabinet, except Webster, resigned their offices, and Webster remained against the clamorous protest of his party only in order to complete some negotiations of an exceedingly difficult and delicate nature, on the success of which depended the question of peace or war with England. When that work ended in the final ratification of the Ashburton Treaty, he too relinquished his portfolio.

Clay's anger at the vetoing of his bank bills, and the long succession of other vetoes that followed, was so great that he introduced and urged a constitutional amendment to restrict the veto power and make a mere majority vote of Congress sufficient to override it, and another to give Congress the power of appointing the Secretary of the Treasury and the United States Treasurer. Fortunately Congress was less ready than Clay to meet temporary emergencies with permanent con-

stitutional changes, and so these resolutions were never adopted.

In 1842, after a session of an extremely arduous and trying character, Clay, who had declined a re-election, delivered an eloquent and touching farewell to the Senate, declaring it to be his fixed purpose never again to accept a seat in that body.

But he by no means meant by this to withdraw from political life. On the contrary, his retirement from the Senate was but the beginning of the most determined effort he had yet made to secure his election to the presidency. By withdrawing from active participation in public affairs he freed himself from the necessity of antagonizing others, and from all responsibility for things done or advocated. He could appear before the country as one who, after long and patriotic public service, sought retirement and rest, leaving both his fame and the reward of his eminent services to his countrymen. Instead of devoting himself to his law practice, and thus making that reparation in his personal fortunes the necessity of which he had assigned as the chief reason of his retirement, he set out on a long series of "progresses," the manifest purpose of which was to arouse enthusiasm for him as a candidate for President in 1844. Everywhere he spoke eloquently and persuasively to great multitudes. Everywhere he was received with an enthusiasm which a king returning from glorious conquests might have envied. He had completely succeeded in breaking down Tyler's administration and driving the President into the

Democratic party, which had no great love for him and not the slightest purpose to nominate him as its candidate in 1844. He had completely succeeded, also, in making himself, in the minds of the people, the recognized leader of the Whigs, the one man who could rally all that party's forces for the coming contest. He had entirely displaced his only possible rival, Webster, and while he made his "progresses," showing himself to the people and exercising all his wonderful gifts of persuasive oratory in winning them to his support, his friends were at work in the ways of "practical politics" in his behalf. One after another, state legislatures under Whig control, and state conventions of the Whig party put Clay in nomination without waiting for the orderly action of a National Convention.

As to issues, the situation presented but one embarrassing difficulty. The bank question was so far given up by the Whigs that Clay could return to his old position, saying that while his views on that subject had not changed, he had no desire to urge the establishment of a bank so long as there was no overmastering popular demand for it,—a declaration which practically amounted to a final abandonment of the issue. As to the tariff, events had in effect disposed of that. The imperative need of revenue had compelled Congress in 1842, soon after Clay's retirement from the Senate, to abandon his compromise tariff of 1833, and continue duties that satisfied the protected manufacturers. Finally, Clay's scheme of distributing the pro-

ceeds of public land sales had been finally abandoned in obedience to Tyler's behest, expressed in his veto of successive tariff bills containing that provision, and his manifest determination to adhere to that refusal to the end.

But there remained the question of the annexation of Texas, and a very dangerous question it was to a presidential aspirant. Tyler was moving heaven and earth to accomplish annexation, but neither party was as yet united either in behalf of the project or in opposition to it. It was bitterly opposed at the North, because it would involve an extension of slave territory. It was strongly supported at the South for that very reason. But both at the North and at the South there were large numbers of men in both parties who advocated, and other large numbers who opposed, annexation, upon grounds quite apart from all questions of slavery. Manifestly, therefore, this was precisely one of those questions of which presidential candidates had every inducement to steer clear. If that could not be, as obviously it could not, safety for either candidate lay in keeping the issue out of the presidential election. Accordingly Van Buren, who was then regarded as almost certain of the Democratic nomination, visited Clay at his home at Ashland. The two had always been personally on the best of terms in spite of their political differences, and, as was reported at the time, they now agreed to keep the Texas question out of the campaign by both of them coming out in opposition to annexation. Whether such an agreement was made

or not, it was carried out. For when Tyler concluded a treaty of annexation, and was planning to have it ratified, Clay and Van Buren published simultaneous letters in their respective newspaper organs in opposition to the scheme. This made it certain that in a contest between these two as rival candidates for the presidency, the question of Texan annexation could not be made an issue.

But the fates overthrew all these calculations. Van Buren was not made the Democratic candidate. Although he had a majority of votes in the Democratic convention, the rule requiring a two-thirds' vote to make a nomination defeated him, and in the end the Democrats nominated James K. Polk, a representative of the extreme pro-slavery wing of his party, and an unflinching advocate of annexation. The convention also adopted annexation as a party policy. Thus Clay's activity in opposing annexation, so far from removing that question from the canvass, made it in fact the dominant issue. Clay made matters worse for himself by an unwise attempt to "hedge," as the gamblers say, on this question. Instead of standing firmly upon the ground he had taken in opposition to annexation, as likely to discredit the country and involve it in war, he wrote a second letter of an equivocating character, declaring that he did not personally object to annexation if it could be peaceably accomplished. This was designed to placate Southern Whigs, who desired the acquisition of Texas in the interest of slavery, while retaining the favor of Northern Whigs

who opposed annexation as a pro-slavery measure. The letter failed of both its purposes. It was too strongly in the pro-slavery interest to please the Northern wing of the party, and not sufficiently pronounced in that way to satisfy the ardent annexationist Whigs of the South, who for safety's sake voted in large numbers for Polk.

Polk was elected, and again Clay's life-long ambition to be President was baffled. He retired to Ashland and busied himself with efforts to rescue his private fortunes from embarrassments that seemed hopeless. He was deeply in debt, mainly by reason of his generosity in assuming responsibility for others. At one time it seemed certain that he must lose even the home in which his entire married life had been spent, and in which his children had been born. But he was spared this calamity. Just when his affairs seemed most hopeless he was notified by a bank that persons, wholly unknown to the bank, had deposited to his credit a sum sufficient to discharge all his obligations and enable him to retain his home free of all debt. This was only one of the many proofs that came to him in those years of the profound affection in which he was held.

During the next four years he accepted no public place, but he kept himself in touch with political affairs and managed more and more to emphasize his "claim" to be again his party's leader in the election of 1848. The "presidential fever" was still hot upon him; the bee buzzed in his bonnet with unabated persistency.

He was unquestionably the ablest statesman among the Whigs, the one fittest to be President, the one who, by reason of his great gifts and extended experience, held the largest place in the popular mind. But the Whigs wanted to win in the election, and as the time of it approached they more and more doubted that they could win with Clay for their candidate. The annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, and the acquisition of all the vast California region had brought many perplexing questions into being, and had thrust the slavery question again into politics in very dangerous shape. If the Whig party had had any principles that it could call its own or any policy on which it could hope to unite, Henry Clay or Daniel Webster would have been beyond question its fittest candidate. Having none, and being hopelessly divided on every question at issue, and having in common no aspiration except to carry the election, it looked for a candidate whose nomination should mean nothing, but whose personal popularity might secure the necessary votes. It found such a candidate in Zachary Taylor. He had never voted in his life or in any other way indicated what his politics might be. He had never had the smallest experience in civil affairs, and presumably had no capacity in that direction. He was a Southern man and a slaveholder, but the Northern anti-slavery Whigs were ready to overlook that for the sake of the victory they hoped to achieve with him as their candidate. He was deservedly a popular "hero," because of his really extraordinary military achievements in Mexico. He

had much the same kind of strength that had made Jackson and Harrison successful in elections. He was nominated without any platform whatever or any declaration in any other form of what his candidacy meant. He regarded himself, indeed, less as a party candidate than as a man chosen by the people and accepted by the Whig convention. He had declared in writing, before the convention met, that he would be a candidate whether the party nominated him or not, and while the campaign was in progress he formally accepted a nomination tendered by a Democratic caucus in South Carolina.

Clay was wounded to the quick when this merely military man was preferred to him. He was profoundly disgusted, too, by the nomination of one so unfit for the office to which he aspired. Webster called it "a nomination unfit to be made," and, after long hesitation, supported Taylor only as a choice of evils. Clay went farther, and refused to support the candidate at all or to take any interest in the campaign.

The time was now near at hand when Clay was to render his last and greatest service to the advocates of slavery extension. Yet he still clung to his desire to see slavery abolished, and in 1849, when a convention to revise the constitution of Kentucky was to be elected, he took up the parable of his young manhood, and again urged, at the age of seventy-two, that scheme of gradual emancipation which he had advocated half a century before.

In December, 1849, Clay again took his seat in the

Senate as the unanimous choice of the Kentucky Legislature, and in the Senate he straightway claimed and was accorded his old position as undisputed leader of the majority. The political situation was the most difficult one that the country had ever confronted. The slavery question had come forward in a more threatening form than it had ever before assumed, and the country was inflamed concerning it in an unprecedented degree. Texas had been admitted as a slave State, with the understanding that her vast territory was presently to be carved into four States, thus adding eight Southerners to the Senate. The Mexican War had added California, New Mexico, and Utah to our national domain, and, by reason of the gold discoveries, California had rapidly become populous. The people of that Territory, without waiting for an enabling act, had framed a constitution and asked admission into the Union as a free State. To this the South objected, and various propositions were brought forward by way of settlement. One of these was to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. This would have divided California into two States. Texas was claiming most of New Mexico, and the slaveholders of Texas insisted upon their right to take their slave property into that region. A great congressional battle had been fought over what was called "the Wilmot Proviso"—a proviso which had been inserted into an appropriation bill, forever forbidding slavery in the Territories acquired from Mexico. The proviso had been rejected, but its discussion had greatly

inflamed men's minds, North and South, and intensified the excitement over the slavery question. The South complained not only that efforts were making to deny to Southerners their equal rights in the Territories, but that Northern States interfered with the laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and that the agitation in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia was an injury and a menace to all the slave States. Thus, when Clay returned to the Senate he found the country seemingly on the very edge of disruption and civil war, with no apparent prospect, in the temper then existing, of finding any way of escape. Again he assumed the rôle of pacificator, and set himself to solve the problem. Without any question his efforts were inspired solely by his overmastering concern for the Union. To preserve the Republic from disintegration he was ready to yield anything and everything of conviction or of policy, and in that behalf he was prepared to exercise all his powers of persuasion in inducing others to accept his plan of compromise.

That plan proposed that California should be admitted as a free State; that territorial governments should be established in New Mexico and Utah, without any restriction as to slavery; that the boundary of Texas should be drawn as it now is, the general Government undertaking to satisfy Texas for the loss of territory claimed by that State; that an act should be passed by Congress solemnly promising that slavery should never be abolished in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland; that the slave trade,

however, should be forbidden in the District; and, finally, that a new and effective fugitive slave law should be enacted and enforced with all the power of the Federal Government. As chairman of a special committee, Clay embodied these propositions in bills, and after a long struggle they were enacted.

This, in substance, was the famous "Compromise of 1850." It satisfied nobody, though for the time being it seemed to have averted danger to the Union. So widespread was the dissatisfaction, however, and so difficult was it to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law in many of the Northern States — in brief, so truly "irrepressible" was the conflict of opinion, sentiment, and material interests with respect to slavery that Clay advocated the creation of special powers vested in the President, to enable him to enforce the compromise. He also issued a sort of proclamation, signed by himself and forty-three other Senators and Representatives, declaring their purpose to oppose, for any office, great or small, any man not openly favoring the strictest adherence to the terms of the compromise, as a safeguard to the Union.

Thus, in 1851, Clay looked forward to his final retirement from public life at the end of his term, in the firm belief that he had at last succeeded in settling the slavery question, eliminating it from politics, and forever securing the Union against disruption upon that exasperating issue. It was only ten years later that the battle of Manassas was fought within cannon-sound of Washington.

Clay was, in 1851, in his seventy-fifth year, and his health was so greatly impaired that he appeared only once in his senatorial seat during the session of 1851–52. His work in the world was done, and on June 29, 1852, he died, honored and deeply mourned by his countrymen.

Few men in our history have played so large a part in American affairs of state, and few have been inspired, in the main, by a purer patriotism than his.



THE JURISTS

JOHN MARSHALL

JOHN MARSHALL, as Chief Justice of the United States during the formative period of the country's history, did more than any other man at any period ever did to determine what sort of government this Republic should have and what its destiny among nations should be. For more than a third of a century he presided over the Supreme Court, and in all important cases dominated and directed the opinions of that august tribunal.

The framers of the Constitution had prepared a written document for the government of the Republic, —a document which might mean one thing or another, according to its interpretation. John Marshall decided by his interpretations of it what it should mean and what it should enforce. Practically all of the great constitutional questions that have arisen in the nation's history came before him for decision, and in deciding them he did more even than the members of the Constitution-framing Convention themselves to determine under what system of fundamental law the affairs of the Republic should be conducted. They framed an

organic law. He decided what that organic law meant.

Chief among his achievements in this direction was his successful insistence upon the right of the Supreme Court to override and nullify any act of Congress which it might find to be in contravention of the Constitution, or without warrant from the fundamental law. This point was gravely disputed. It was insisted that Congress itself should be the only judge of its own right to legislate — a doctrine which would have made the legislative power as completely independent of restraint as it is in England, and would have rendered the Constitution so much waste paper as a fundamental law designed to restrain and regulate the conduct of Congress.

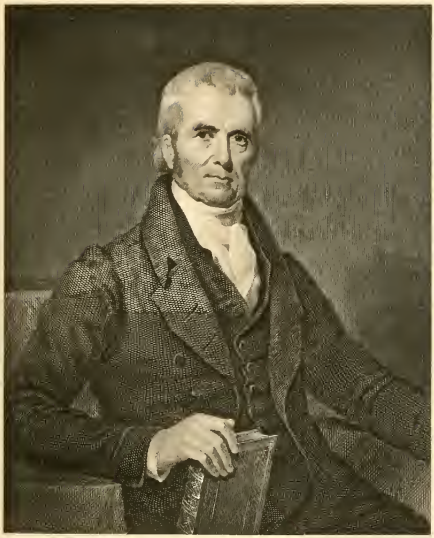
When that question was brought before John Marshall he decided it once and forever in behalf of the Constitution and against the claims of Congress. In effect his decision in Marbury *vs.* Madison was that Congress is the creature of the Constitution, not its master; that so long as its legislation is such as the Constitution authorizes, it is valid, and the courts are bound to enforce it; but that wherever it transgresses the Constitution or transcends the authority granted to Congress by that document, the courts must hold its acts to be null and void, and not legislation at all. His reasoning on this supremely important point is best presented in his own absolutely conclusive words:

"It is a proposition too plain to be contested, that the Constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it, or (else) that the



John Marshall

From the painting by Henry Inman



legislature may alter the Constitution by an ordinary act. Between these alternatives there is no middle ground. The Constitution is either a superior, paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary measures, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative acts, and, like other acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it. If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative act contrary to the Constitution is not law; if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts on the part of the people to limit a power in its own nature illimitable."

If Chief Justice Marshall had done nothing else in all his life than deliver this one decision his service to the country would have been of inestimable value. For by this decision he once and forever gave force and effect to the great purpose of the constitution-makers to establish the judiciary as a co-ordinate branch of the government, equal to and wholly independent of the legislative and executive branches. It is under this decision, and by virtue of it alone, that a check-rein has ever since been held upon the will of Congress; and he must be an inattentive student of history who does not recall countless instances in which the subjection of Congress to the Constitution, under penalty of the annulment of its lawless acts, has been a condition of salvation to the dearest interests of the nation and its people.

John Marshall was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, September 24, 1755. He was irregularly but thoroughly educated. His father trained him from early childhood in the classic English literature. In boyhood he attended a school for a single year. After that he was trained by private tutors alone, never attending any other school or any college. At the age

of eighteen he began the study of law, and a little later, the Revolution having broken out, he entered the military service of his country, in which he sufficiently distinguished himself to attain the rank of captain in the line.

After six years of nearly continuous service, the war having in effect come to an end, Marshall devoted himself to the study and practice of the law, a career in which he quickly rose to distinction, chiefly by reason of his extraordinary power of so lucidly stating a principle or a succession of facts that not even the dullest intelligence could fail to grasp and comprehend his meaning and the body of reasoning upon which it rested. It is related of the late Judah P. Benjamin that, on his first appearance in the Supreme Court of the United States, he had to answer the eloquent speech of a truly Ciceronian orator. In his reply, Benjamin indulged in no rhetoric, constructed no periods, in short, did nothing for effect. Instead, he presented the case of his client in so simple, lucid, and convincing a way that the then Chief Justice, turning to Justice Campbell, said:

"That little fellow has *stated* his adversary clear out of court."

Something like this was said of John Marshall by his contemporaries. It was said by one of the greatest of them that "when Marshall makes a law point he does it so simply that the most uneducated farmer in court understands it as completely as the ablest lawyer does."

Yet not for a long time, and not until he was made Chief Justice, did this man of eminently judicial mind hold any judicial office. He was from time to time elected to a seat in the Virginia Legislature. In 1788 he was made a member of the Virginia Convention, called to consider the acceptance or rejection of the new Federal Constitution. He was a strong advocate of acceptance, and it was chiefly by reason of his eloquence in answer to Patrick Henry that Virginia finally ratified the Constitution and made the Union a practical possibility. For had Virginia withheld her assent, her commanding position would undoubtedly have brought the whole project to naught. Yet with all of Marshall's persuasive logic and James Madison's impressive influence, the Virginia Convention gave a majority of only ten in a total vote of 168 in favor of accepting the new Federal Constitution. Very certainly the majority would have been on the other side if John Marshall had not won the convention to his views by his masterly presentation of the country's needs, especially in the matters of taxation, the control of the militia, and the establishment of that supreme judicial power which, all unknown to himself at the time, he was destined to exercise for so long a time and with such beneficent consequences to the country.

When the Constitution was ratified and the National Government organized, with Washington for President, the first cleavage leading to the formation of parties appeared. Washington, Hamilton, John Adams, and

other strong leaders of men believed strenuously in the necessity of adequate strength in the National Government, and were disposed to interpret the Constitution with that end in view. Jefferson and his followers profoundly distrusted this policy, fearing that the Federal Government might become too strong for the States and impair their independence. The cleavage was not yet so well defined as to prevent united action in behalf of the public welfare by the leaders of the two sides. Both Jefferson and Hamilton — the foremost representatives respectively of the Republican and Federalist parties — were members of Washington's Cabinet, and to the end of his days Washington's chief concern in statecraft was to avert what he deemed the danger to the Republic that lay in the arousing of party spirit.

In all these early controversies John Marshall leant strongly to the side of Washington and Hamilton. He wanted a government strong enough to stand alone, and he had no fear that such a government, restrained at every point by a written constitution, would become dangerous to liberty. In the controversies of that time his great influence, his extraordinary legal learning, and his still more wonderful capacity for lucid statement and convincing exposition, were constantly called into activity in defence of Washington's policies and of those views of the Constitution upon which such policies were based.

In 1795 Washington offered Marshall the place of Attorney-General of the United States, and Marshall

declined it. In 1796 Washington wanted to make him Minister to France, a country with which our relations were then severely strained. Again Marshall declined the appointment. In 1797 President Adams appointed Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry joint Ministers to France, and, seeing now an opportunity to serve his country, Marshall accepted.

The corruption of the French republican government at that time was almost incredible. Talleyrand, its head, boldly demanded of the American Ministers a money bribe as the condition of re-establishing diplomatic relations between France and the United States.

The Ministers indignantly rejected the infamous proposal, and Marshall prepared a State paper of extraordinary force and vigor which the Ministers sent to Talleyrand, and in which they set forth clearly this country's earnest desire to be at peace and to re-establish friendly relations with France, at the same time emphasizing their determination never to buy such terms of amity by the payment of any sort of tribute. It was in celebration of this affair that at a Philadelphia dinner, given to Marshall on his return, the toast was proposed, "Millions for defence; not one cent for tribute."

Marshall and Pinckney, Federalists, were instantly ordered by Talleyrand to quit France, as Pinckney had been once before. Gerry, being a Republican, was permitted to remain, but not in a position that promised the achievement of anything of value to the country.

Concerning this matter President John Adams wrote to the Secretary of State:

"Of the three envoys the conduct of Marshall alone has been entirely satisfactory and ought to be marked by the most decided approbation of the public. He has raised the American people in their own esteem, and if the influence of truth and justice, reason and argument, is not lost in Europe, he has raised the consideration of the United States in that quarter of the world."

In pursuit of his purpose thus to signalize Marshall's service by public recognition, President Adams offered to the great Virginian a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court. Again Marshall declined the honor.

In 1799 Marshall reluctantly accepted an election to Congress, where he served but for a single term. But during that term he served the government in a way productive of lasting benefits. In connection with an extradition case, the details of which need not be related here, resolutions, bitterly censuring the Administration and a Federal judge in South Carolina, were introduced into Congress, and the obvious impulse of Congress was to adopt them. John Marshall came to the rescue. In a speech of extraordinary force and persuasiveness, he showed that the course of the Administration and the Federal court had been sound in law, right in morals, and should be made a precedent to govern all future proceedings in extradition. So lucidly did he present his argument, and so eloquently did he plead for the right, that Congress abandoned its purpose of censure and decidedly rejected

the resolutions of condemnation. Thus was the Administration served at the moment, but that was the very smallest part of the matter. For thus did John Marshall establish a principle and a precedent which have ever since governed and determined our nation's dealings with similar cases.

It was by a series of happy accidents that the country, in its formative period, secured the inestimable advantage of John Marshall's appointment to the Chief-Justiceship, and, by consequence of it, all those wonderfully wise decisions that have given form and consistency to the National Constitution. Adams took him out of Congress and made him Secretary of State. A little later there occurred a vacancy in the Chief-Justiceship. Adams offered the place to John Jay, who declined it. Adams had failed of re-election, and his term was drawing to a close. Jefferson was to succeed him, and it is pretty safe to assume that Jefferson, the supreme leader of the Republicans, would never have appointed the stalwart Federalist, John Marshall, to be Chief Justice and chief interpreter of the Constitution. Nor did Marshall himself anticipate anything of the kind. On the contrary, as Secretary of State, he busied himself to find a proper person for the supremely important place of Chief Justice, in order that the appointment might be made by Adams before the inauguration of Jefferson. One of his biographers tells a pleasant story of the way in which Adams announced to Marshall his purpose of appointing him to the most exalted judicial place in the land. Marshall, as

Secretary of State, suggested the name of a man whom he thought fit for the appointment. President Adams replied :

"General Marshall, you need not give yourself any further trouble about that matter. I have made up my mind about it." "I am happy to hear," answered Marshall, "that you are relieved on the subject. May I ask whom you have fixed upon?" "I have concluded," said Adams, "to nominate a person whom it may surprise you to hear mentioned. He is a Virginia lawyer, a plain man, by the name of John Marshall."

Thus by a happy succession of accidents was John Adams enabled to crown his expiring Administration by giving to the country the greatest Chief Justice it has ever had, at the precise time when the wisdom and learning of such a man had their best opportunity to impress themselves upon our half-formed institutions in that wonderful series of judicial decisions which settled the Constitution and determined for all time what it should mean. Nothing more fortunate has ever happened to the Republic than the appointment of John Marshall at that precise moment of time.

Chief Justice Marshall wrote a *Life of Washington*, but his enduring monument must always be the Supreme Court reports that embody those decisions of his, during his thirty-five years of service, which moulded the Republic into its existing form, and did much to give it permanence as a power of commanding import in the world.

Marshall died in 1835, at the ripe age of eighty

years, and his activity of mind had continued unimpaired to the last. In virility of reasoning, in aptness of illustration, in vigorous grasp of the principles of law, his very last decisions were fit fellows for those that he had rendered in the prime of his manhood.



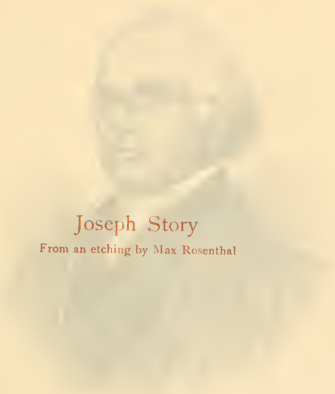
JOSEPH STORY

IT is related upon good authority that when Joseph Story's masterly work on the *Conflict of Laws* appeared, the Lord Chancellor of England sent his judicial wig to the American jurist, with an inscription in it which read: "From a Lord Chancellor to one who deserves to be."

The anecdote aptly illustrates the regard in which Story was held in England and on the continent of Europe as an expounder of the more difficult principles of the law. It was everywhere recognized that Joseph Story shared with John Marshall, Lord Mansfield, Lord Eldon, Lord Ellenborough, and a few others of the elect, the honor of supreme masterfulness in the comprehension and application of those fundamental principles of law which have been justly called the sum and ultimate outcome of human reason.

Among American jurists, Story had but one peer as a profound and sagacious interpreter of the law — and that one peer was no less a master than John Marshall.

From his boyhood to the end of his days, Joseph Story was a voracious seeker of knowledge for its own



Joseph Story

From an etching by Max Rosenthal



sake. He brought to bear upon all his studies not only the eagerness of acquisition which marks the "honor man" of the schools, but also, and much better, the scientific attitude of mind. He hungered and thirsted for truth, whatever the truth might be. He permitted no prejudice or preconception to embarrass discovery or to forbid any conclusion. He studied the fundamental principles of the law in the same spirit in which the biologist investigates the bases of organic being, or the chemist observes reactions and notes precipitations, and, in like scientific spirit, he applied the teachings of his studies to the work of drawing conclusions. He applied broad principles to individual questions precisely as the scientific investigator applies his knowledge of general facts to the particular purpose of a laboratory experiment. If this thought is made clear to the reader's mind, he will understand Joseph Story and appreciate the great work that he did in the world. He will understand also how and why it is that Story's law books have been translated into many languages, and through three generations have been quoted as final and conclusive authorities in every civilized country of the world.

Story was born on the 18th of September, 1779, in Marblehead, Massachusetts. He was the son of a doctor, from whom he inherited his instinct of intellectual activity and that love of truth for its own sake which constituted his scientific habit of mind. Graduating from Harvard in 1798, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1801. His strongly literary

instincts led him presently to publish a volume of poems, of which he was afterwards, quite needlessly, ashamed. At the same time he began writing and publishing law-books, which the attorneys and counsellors of his time sadly needed for their instruction.

All this while he was tirelessly prosecuting his studies of the old black-letter laws of England, and giving such attention to his practice that he speedily rose to a foremost place among the Massachusetts lawyers of the time.

In politics he favored Jefferson's views in the main, though his reverence for Washington, Adams, and especially Marshall, put a check upon all tendencies of his mind to extreme partisanship, whether personally or as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, in which he served several terms at this time, or later as a Representative in Congress, to which body he was elected in 1808.

In 1811, although he was only thirty-two years of age, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, an office which he continued to hold until the time of his death, in 1845. On several occasions he acted as Chief Justice, and he was always regarded in the court as chief among those below the Chief-Justiceship.

It is not easy for the lawyers of this modern time to understand the perplexities of law which Story, sitting on circuit, had to deal with. His courts were located in New England, where commerce presented all its problems of admiralty jurisdiction, of marine insurance,

of prize-law, of salvage, of flotsam and jetsam, of abandonments and rescues, and all the rest of it. All these questions are now completely covered by statutes, decisions, and well-settled precedents. When Story had to deal with them they presented all manner of problems which there were no statutes to solve, concerning which there were no decisions to be cited in support of one view or another, no precedents to be invoked. He had only the general principles of law to guide him, and it is a fact worthy of interested note, that scarcely one of the decisions that he rendered on the strength of his learning in the fundamental principles of law was afterwards overthrown by the Supreme Court, sitting in banc.

When the century was in its teens, the African slave trade, in spite of its legal prohibition since 1808, was still carried on, mainly in ships sailing out of New England ports, and with the financial support of New England capital. Against this nefarious traffic, Mr. Justice Story sternly set his face. His charges to Federal grand juries, urging upon them the duty of indicting all the highly moral and respectable gentlemen of New England who were directly or indirectly engaged in the slave trade, brought down upon him the most violent vituperations of the press. He was assailed as a judge who deserved to be hurled from the bench—simply because, in his judicial capacity, he was endeavoring to secure the enforcement of the humane laws of the land, against those who, greedy of gain, were engaged in an inhuman traffic in plain violation of the

"statutes in that case made and provided." But Joseph Story was a man of courage as well as of upright mind. He faltered not, nor failed. He did his duty and dared the consequences. In the face of such angry denunciation as might well have appalled a man of less exalted character, he persisted in urging this matter upon grand juries, and when a case involving the slave trade came before him for adjudication, he unhesitatingly and very eloquently denounced the traffic in slaves from Africa as inhuman, abhorrent to all enlightened minds, a plain, undisputed, and indisputable transgression of the national statutes, and a flagrant violation of the laws of nations. It was a very daring thing to do. There were vast "vested interests" involved. There were New England ships that found a greater profit in the illegal and inhuman slave trade than in any other carrying. There were negroes to be had in plenty, and at a trifling cost, on the west coast of Africa. There was a profitable market for them in the South, where the cotton-gin invention of Eli Whitney had made slave labor enormously profitable. What business had this sentimental Justice of the Supreme Court to interfere with a traffic which gave employment to all the ships that New England carpenters could build, and paid excessive interest on all the money that New England wealth and thrift could invest in the traffic? That question bristled in the press, asserted itself in the market-place, and met no resolute answer even in the pulpit. Only in the court, only at the hands of the scholarly Justice Story did the traffic meet the decree, "Thou

shalt not," and that decree Story pronounced with a calmly resolute mind that took no account either of "vested interest" in evil, or of the "power of the press," perverted to the subservient advocacy of crime.

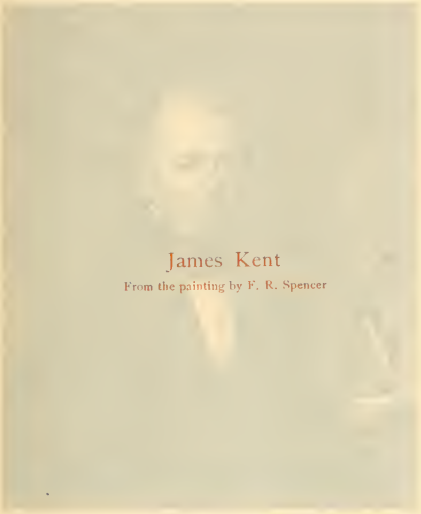
Joseph Story's fame rests upon quite other foundations than this. But if it had no other corner-stone this might well serve as a sufficient support.

Following a custom, which has now fallen into perhaps deserved disuse, Story, while remaining a Supreme Court Justice, became, in 1829, a professor of law in Harvard College, where he in effect created a law school that is now one of the largest and most influential in the country. There had been but one student in that department during the year preceding his incumbency. Under his direction the school quickly became populous with eager students of the law. He was active in other departments of endeavor also, but his chief work, and that upon which his fame securely rests, was his masterful interpretation of the law in a series of text-books that are still unsurpassed, in their learning, their lucidity, and their limpidness of expression, by any of the writings that grace the literature of the law. His writings are fundamental to every student's work. They are of recognized authority in every court in Christendom, and wherever Law is held in honor, and Justice speaks with a clear voice, there the name of Joseph Story is spoken as that of one of the chief prophets of enlightened jurisprudence. His honored and most useful life came to an end on the 10th of September, 1845.

JAMES KENT

CHANCELLOR JAMES KENT never held any office under the Federal Government. On the only occasion on which he was a candidate for Congress, he was defeated. He had no gift of moving eloquence. As a lawyer at the bar, his name was never identified with any of the great causes that have become famous as determinative of important points in Constitutional interpretation. In brief, he had absolutely none of the adventitious aids to celebrity that play so large a part in the life-histories of most distinguished men. Yet there is not a lawyer in all this land, and not a man acquainted with the history of legal development among us, who does not regard Judge Kent's selection for a place in the Hall of Fame by the side of Marshall and Story as one eminently fit to be made.

He was a man of extraordinary learning in the law, and he devoted much of his energy to the task of making his learning practically available for the uses of others and for the enlightenment of the courts themselves. He was the author of one of the most learned,



James Kent

From the painting by F. R. Spencer



most intelligent, and most useful treatises upon the principles of law in their application to the administration of justice which has ever been published in the English language. His *Commentaries on American Law* very justly gave him a place in the company of Justinian, Grotius, Vattel, Coke, Blackstone, and Story, as one of the great law-writers of the world.

He was born in Putnam County, N. Y., on July 31, 1763. At Yale College he received the very meagre education which at that time was all that any college could give — an education less comprehensive, less thorough, and immeasurably less sensible than that which the ordinary High Schools of our day give to their pupils. But at least young Kent had learned at Yale his need of learning vastly more than Yale could teach, and he set himself at once to the task of repairing the deficiency in his education by a course of self-imposed study. With a courageous industry, the simple record of which seems appalling, he gave four hours before breakfast each morning to the study of Latin and Greek, and two hours after supper each evening to French literature, after which he devoted his evenings to the reading of English standard authors. His days, in their regular working hours, were given up to the diligent study of the law. Something like this was continued as his daily habit throughout a life which extended over eighty-four years.

His reputation for learning in the law grew rapidly, and when he removed to New York, at the age of little more than thirty years, he was made Professor of Law

in Columbia College. He then took up an exhaustive study of the Roman civil law, and its development in France and the other Latin countries of Europe. He also made at that time those studies of the United States Constitution which afterwards formed the basis of his *Commentaries*. Meanwhile, he served several terms in the State Legislature, and in 1797 became Recorder of the City of New York.

During the next year he became a Justice of the State Supreme Court, and in 1804 Chief Justice of that tribunal. For ten years thereafter he devoted himself to the better ordering of Supreme Court practice, to the determination of unsettled principles of law, to the reform of judicial proceedings, and to the development of a system of commercial law—founded upon the accepted principles of all law, but adapted to the new conditions of American trade and industry. His service in these directions, as every educated lawyer knows, was of inestimable value, and his expository decisions of that time, as they are recorded in the reports, are freely cited nearly a century later as the very highest authorities on the questions of law with which they are concerned.

In 1814, Kent was made Chancellor of New York, and in that capacity he restored equity jurisprudence to its ancient efficiency as the guardian of imperilled rights, and the helpful handmaiden of the sometimes erring law.

On his retirement for age in 1823, Kent returned to New York City and resumed his professorship of law in Columbia University. It was then that he put forth, at

first in the form of class-room lectures, his *Commentaries on American Law*, which, frequently revised by himself, and, since his death, by others, has remained until now as an indispensable, fundamental text-book basis of the earnest law-student's study. It is upon that work that Chancellor Kent's fame rests, and the foundation is adequate and secure.

He was always active in aid of others, and especially in aid of all that tended to the popular enlightenment. He lived in conspicuous honor, and died at the advanced age of eighty-four, on December 12, 1847.

THE MEN OF THE CIVIL WAR

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

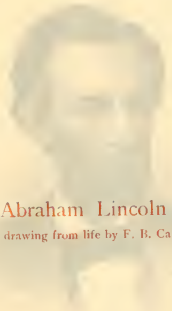
IN some respects, at least, the history of Abraham Lincoln is more remarkable than that of any other of the men who have achieved greatness in face of difficulties in this wonderful country of ours. Other men have been born poor, and have reached high distinction without opportunity of education except such as they provided for themselves. But no other man who has attained great distinction was so unfortunately born as Lincoln was, and no other man, with the single exception of Washington, has achieved a fame so great as his.

He was born not only in poverty, but in squalor. He was born not only without prospects, but seemingly without hope. He was the son of a Southern poor white—a class from whose eyes even visionary hope of betterment was shut out by their own lack of thrift, their chronic indolence, their utter and unconquerable lack of that divine discontent which breeds aspiration.

Lincoln's father belonged to that class of semi-nomadic creatures who passed their lives mainly in removing from one piece of ill-cultivated land to another,

on which their indolence was destined to let the weeds grow with unabated neglect.

As if to make matters worse for the young Lincoln, his father removed while he was yet a little child from Hardin County, Kentucky, to the unsettled regions of Indiana, and thence afterwards to various points in Illinois. In all that country there were, properly speaking, no opportunities open to the lad to acquire an education. There were so-called schools, open perhaps during three months in the year, in which men, themselves ignorant, taught the little that they knew to unwilling pupils, thrashing into them the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Beyond this, there were no educational opportunities whatever, and even these meagre chances for instruction were often denied to the young Lincoln by reason of his father's frequent removals. Nevertheless, the boy secured possession of that talisman, the ability to read—the master-key always and everywhere to learning of every kind. He voraciously read the few books upon which he could in any wise lay his hands, and they fed a mind that proved itself well worthy of the nourishment. He had mechanical ability, and with it he taught himself to write that excellently legible hand with which the world is now familiar. His great simplicity of character, his instinctive directness of thought, his absolute honesty of mind, and the earnestness of his purpose to make himself understood, taught him that extraordinary clearness of literary style which in later years enabled him to give to the world his celebrated Gettysburg speech—an



Abraham Lincoln

From a drawing from life by F. B. Carpenter



utterance unexcelled in its perfection by any words that human lips have spoken.

It has been conjectured by some of Lincoln's biographers that the exceeding terseness, compactness, and simplicity of his literary style were the results of the fact that when he wrote "compositions" in his youth he was forced to clip short his sentences, and to reject every unnecessary word in order to save paper, which was then an expensive thing. Possibly this compulsory training in terseness may somewhat have helped in the development of Lincoln's style; but it seems almost absurd to attribute so great an effect to so insignificant a cause. It seems more reasonable to find the causes of Lincoln's truly wonderful clearness of utterance in the character of the man, in the inborn sincerity of his mind, and in the earnestness with which he sought always, in writing or in speech, to make clear and unmistakable to others the thought that was in him. "The style is the man," it has been said, and in Lincoln's case at least the literary style perfectly accorded in its sincerity, simplicity, and directness, with the like qualities in the character of the man. The Gettysburg speech and that splendid burst of eloquence, so often quoted from the second inaugural address, in which occur the words, "With malice toward none, with charity for all," were very certainly not the results of any paper-saving rhetorical drill, but the spontaneous utterances of a great, simple, and sincere mind.

Lincoln's intellect seems always to have been acute, but it was slow in development, and the history of his

youth and his young manhood does not indicate the existence of any particular ambition or high hope in him. He was content to do farm labor, rail-splitting, flat boating, and even that most inconsequent of all labors, the work of a clerk in a country store. During many years, his ambition seems not at all to have been awakened. He thought of himself, apparently, merely as a young man who must somehow—it didn't much matter to him how—manage to put bread and butter into his own mouth. He seems to have looked forward to no future better than his meagre present. It seems not to have occurred to him in all the earlier years of his life that he had a mind worth cultivating, a character worth developing, or a future worth striving for. He read voluminously, it is true, so far as he could borrow books, but he read apparently for his own gratification alone, and not at all with any view to future possibilities. He was inspired by no ambition and stirred to action by no hope. He was alternately busy and indolent—busy when he had a job to do, and indolent when it was done.

Here, perhaps, we discover the results of heredity. The mood of mind in which Lincoln passed his earlier years was not unlike that of his forbears, the "poor whites," to whom dinner meant the end of the day, and to whom there was no morrow in prospect.

It was very slowly that Lincoln worked himself out of this condition of inherited indolence—this disposition to rest content with things as they were, to sit satisfiedly in the sun or in the shade, as the temperature might

suggest, and to leave the future to take care of itself. No intelligent student of the various biographies that have been written of this extraordinary man can fail to observe this tendency of his mind during the years of his earlier manhood, and perhaps there is nothing in his history which redounds more to his credit than the fact that he ultimately overcame this paralyzing influence of heredity, acquired ambition, and devoted himself with the strenuousness of a strong man to the work that he was fitted by his genius to do in the world.

Lincoln was born on the 12th of February, 1809. He was, therefore, twenty-three years old when, in 1832, he returned from the Black Hawk War, ran for the Legislature, was defeated, and in looking about him for bread-winning employment seriously contemplated the apprenticing of himself to a blacksmith. Accident led him, instead, to join with another in the purchase of a country store, altogether upon credit. The venture was doomed to failure from the beginning. Neither partner devoted energetic attention to business. Lincoln had got possession of some books, including a grammar and a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and he devoted himself to the study of these to the sad neglect of the business of the "store." In the meantime, his partner devoted himself chiefly to the drinking of whiskey, and, between the two, they managed speedily to ruin the business, and to bring Lincoln into a slough of debt.

He next became postmaster, at a miserable wage, and assistant to a local surveyor at scarcely more of pay. But he now had leisure for the study of law, and he

read incessantly. In August, 1834, he was elected to the Legislature, and during the six succeeding years he was three times re-elected for terms of two years each.

He did not distinguish himself in his legislative career. The questions that arose in the Illinois Legislature at that time were petty, and of only local significance. There was nothing in them to enlist those great emotions of which Lincoln's nature was capable, nothing to arouse that conscience which was the dominating force in his character. He was a clever, business-like representative of his constituents, and nothing more. The real Abraham Lincoln was not yet born.

In like manner he failed to make any conspicuous place for himself in Congress when, in 1846, he was elected to the National Legislature. He did indeed throw himself strenuously into an effort for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Here was a matter concerning which he felt deeply and intensely. But the time was not yet ripe. The country had not yet been aroused to the necessity of dealing in drastic ways with this question, and Lincoln, himself hating slavery with all the intensity of a nature at once tender and robust, was not prepared to take advanced ground of attack upon it. There was no response to his effort, and his congressional career ended in failure.

Meantime he had been admitted to the bar of Illinois, and had won a good place for himself among the lawyers of that State. His persuasiveness of oratory especially impressed the people, and prepared the way for his advancement as a man of force and consequence

in politics. He had never lost touch with those whom he called "the plain people." He had never forgotten how they thought, and reasoned, and felt. He had never ceased to be one of themselves or to receive their eager recognition as such. He could interpret their aspirations as no other man then living could do. He could speak for them, "not as the scribes, but as one having authority." And, above all, his honesty and sincerity were so well recognized and so universally approved that "the people heard him gladly" whenever he was minded to speak.

These were the conditions out of which Lincoln's subsequent exaltation grew. But meantime his personal life was unhappy in the extreme.

That humor of which so much has been made, was to him, as to many others notable in like manner, merely the safety-valve of a nature inclined to sadness and subjected always to conditions calculated to breed melancholy. Young Lincoln met with that most irreparable "disappointment in love," the death of the woman he loved. For a time his grief threatened the integrity of his reason. Later, he formed another attachment, which in its turn was brought to naught by the young woman's rejection of his suit. Still later, he courted Mary Todd, a woman of social pretensions far above his own, and became engaged to marry her. But when the wedding-day came and the guests were assembled, Lincoln did not appear. In one of his fits of brooding he had come to doubt the sincerity of his affection for the young woman, and so he simply stayed

away from the appointed ceremony. It was at this time that the suicidal impulse was so strong upon him that he dared not carry even a penknife upon his person, lest he do himself harm.

Later the matter was "patched up," and Lincoln married Mary Todd, but, if we may accept the testimony of his biographers and of those who knew him intimately in his years of greatness, this marriage was the most unfortunate circumstance of all in his career.

It is not necessary here to pursue inquiry into that subject, but it may fairly be wondered how often, during the dark days of the Civil War,—after the seven-days' fights around Richmond, after the second defeat of Bull Run, after Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and after Grant's fearful punishment in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, and at Cold Harbor,—the old suicidal impulse must have come again upon this man of tender conscience, whose habit it was to take upon himself the blame for every disaster in the field, and for every mistake in the Cabinet.

But this is getting ahead of our story. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 brought into American politics a question which actively and intensely engaged Lincoln's heart—the question, as he deliberately put it, whether this country should become "all slave, or all free," whether it should be lawful to hold slaves in all the States or in none. In its immediateness the question was not so broad as that, but, looking to ultimate rather than to immediate results, Lincoln thus interpreted the issue.

Here a word of explanation may be in season. When, between 1818 and 1821, the territory of Missouri sought admission to the Union as a State, and a demand was made that slavery should be permitted there, a great controversy arose between the friends and the opponents of slavery. Finally, and as a compromise, it was agreed and enacted in 1821 that Missouri should be admitted as a slave State, but that thereafter slavery should not be carried into any Territory west of the Mississippi and north of latitude 36° 30′, which was the southern boundary of Missouri. For a third of a century this "compromise" furnished a *modus vivendi* and kept the slavery question, in a degree at least, out of practical politics. In 1850, however, another "compromise" was found to be necessary, and it was enacted into law. In the meantime the hostility of the North to slavery grew steadily stronger, even among men who would have fought, as in resentment of a mortal insult, if called by the opprobrious term, "abolitionist." The Fugitive Slave Law, which to many seemed to make the country "all-slave" territory, and the Dred Scott decision, which seemed to open all the Territories to slaveholding, profoundly stirred the nation. Nevertheless the Missouri Compromise and its supplement, the Compromise of 1850, warded off the conflict until, in 1854, under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Lincoln's own State of Illinois, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. That measure in effect repealed the Missouri Compromise, and with its passage

was introduced the doctrine that property in slaves was recognized by the Constitution of the United States equally with all other property; that the slaveholder could take his negroes into any Territory and own them there as freely as any other man could do with his horses, his mules, or his cattle; and that not until a State constitution forbidding slavery was adopted and accepted by Congress could the institution of slavery be excluded from any Territory not yet organized into a State.

Here was Abraham Lincoln's opportunity. Here was a question which appealed to the very marrow of his soul. Here was an occasion upon which he could mightily oppose the extension of slavery without incurring the odium of being an "abolitionist" by seeming to advocate the extinction of slavery in the States wherein it existed as a tradition.

There was little, if any, chance to defeat Douglas for re-election in the State of Illinois, whose political machinery the "Little Giant," as he was called, held firmly within his grasp. But there was a chance to do things much greater than the defeat of Douglas for re-election to the Senate. There was opportunity to educate the people, and better still, as Lincoln alone saw clearly, there was opportunity to end forever Douglas's chance of election to the presidency.

When Lincoln, in 1858, was pitted against Douglas as a rival candidate for the senatorship, and when the two had agreed to meet in joint debate, Lincoln shrewdly devised questions which need not be set

forth here, but which forced Douglas, in their answering, either to offend the strong pro-slavery sentiment of the South or else to strip himself of Democratic support in the North. Against the pressing of these questions Lincoln's best friends remonstrated. They foresaw that the course Lincoln had resolved upon would lose him all chance of an election to the Senate. But he did not care. A greater question than any that vexed 1858 was coming on in 1860, and to that Lincoln addressed himself. He clearly foresaw that if he could compel Douglas to offend and alienate the extreme Southern sentiment, that statesman could not be nominated as the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1860. He foresaw also, with that political sagacity which always distinguished his vision, that if Douglas were not nominated no other candidate could be found who could even hope to unite the Democracy and command the full support of that party.

The Democracy had a clear majority of the votes. It was Lincoln's thought to "divide and conquer," and he accomplished it. In the contest of 1858 he deliberately sacrificed his own ambition in order that he might destroy Douglas and make it possible that Seward or Chase, or some other great Republican leader, might be elected President in 1860. That there was no element of personal ambition to inspire this self-sacrifice is sufficiently attested by the fact that in 1858 the suggestion of Abraham Lincoln's name as that of a candidate for the presidency would have been

greeted with derision even in Illinois, and in the rest of the States with wondering inquiry as to who Abraham Lincoln might be.

Nevertheless, it was in that daring and unsuccessful campaign against Douglas that Abraham Lincoln made himself President of the United States at the greatest crisis in the country's history. In that campaign he forced Douglas to make admissions which forever alienated Southern Democrats from him, as appeared in the Charleston Convention of 1860. Thus Lincoln made a united Democracy impossible at a time when a united Democracy would very certainly have carried the country. So far from being united in opposition to Mr. Lincoln's election in 1860, his opponents were divided into three parties, one supporting Douglas, one loyal to Breckinridge, and one, a forlorn hope, voting for that "man in the moon," John Bell of Tennessee. Mr. Lincoln's election, in such conditions, was inevitable, although, when the poll was reckoned, there was a popular majority of nearly a million votes (947,279) against him, in a total vote of 4,680,203.

Almost immediately after the returns showed that Lincoln was elected, the long-threatened secession movement began. South Carolina led the way, and before Lincoln could take his office seven Southern States had passed ordinances declaring their withdrawal from the Union, and had organized a new Confederacy. In the meantime, the government at Washington was in the irresolute hands of James

Buchanan, whose sole hope it was to tide over the time till the expiry of his term, and some of whose Cabinet officers were in open and active sympathy with the seceding States.

When, on the 4th of March, 1861, Lincoln was inducted into office, he found himself in surroundings more difficult and perplexing than those that any other executive head of a great government had ever confronted. The cotton States had declared their withdrawal from the Union, and had seized upon forts, arsenals, custom-houses, etc., within their borders. Virginia was still stoutly opposed to the policy of secession, and had elected by an overwhelming majority a strongly pro-Union convention. The other border States were disposed to follow Virginia's lead, and apparently there was still time and opportunity to avert a civil war if wise counsels were followed. But what were wise counsels? Nobody knew. Horace Greeley, the most influential of Republican editors, had already advocated the recognition of secession as a right, and urged the nation to say to the seceding States: "Wayward sisters, go in peace." Other leaders, equally influential, were clamoring for the instant and relentless employment of force to restore the Union, while still others contended that there was neither constitutional authority nor power enough in the government to coerce the seceding States.

In the midst of this chaos of conflicting counsels Lincoln did not command the confidence of the leaders of his own party. The country knew him only as a

"smart" Western lawyer and stump speaker, who had been nominated only because the convention could not agree upon either of the really great party leaders, Seward or Chase, and who had been elected only because the opposition was divided into three warring factions.

Very few of the Republican leaders even suspected Lincoln of statesmanly capacities. When he put Seward at the head of his Cabinet and made Chase Secretary of the Treasury, it was quite generally understood that these two, and particularly Seward, were to conduct the Administration by ministerial dictation, leaving to Lincoln no duty except to acquiesce in their decisions.

Seward seriously attempted to act upon this assumption. He presented to the President a carefully prepared paper, complaining that the Administration had formulated no policy, and himself formulating one for the President's acceptance. Mr. Lincoln's response was a rebuke all the more severe because of its entire courtesy of tone, and because it did not include a request for Mr. Seward's resignation, as it might very well have done. But that reply taught Seward and the other leaders a much-needed lesson. It, in fact, made them acquainted with Lincoln for the first time. It taught them that, instead of a blundering ignoramus, their party had in fact put into the presidency a great, strong, sagacious, and masterful man. It taught them and the country that Abraham Lincoln was President, and resolutely intended to exercise the functions of his

office, and finally, it convinced them of the sagacity of his mind and the dominance of that conscience which inspired all his thoughts and directed all his courses of conduct.

In the same way, from the beginning the radical abolitionists clamorously urged Lincoln to convert the war for the salvation of the Union into a war against the institution of slavery in the States. This he resolutely refused to do, upon the double ground of policy and right. To do so, he reminded the radicals, would alienate from the cause a powerful support which it could not afford to dispense with. There were men by hundreds of thousands who were ready to support the government in an effort to restore and preserve the Union, but who would not, on any plea then available, consent to a war for the extirpation of slavery by the federal power, in States in which it lawfully and constitutionally existed. So much for policy. On higher grounds than those of policy, Lincoln reminded his urgent advisers that while they were free to advocate any proceeding that might please them, he was bound by his oath of office not to make constitutions or override them, but to observe the Constitution as it existed and to enforce the laws as they were.

Still later, when he decided in his own mind and conscience that it was his right and duty to issue a limited and qualified proclamation of emancipation, as a measure necessary to the success of the war and the preservation of the Union, he wrote the document

himself, without consulting anybody. Having completed it he submitted it to his Cabinet, but in doing so he notified the members of that body that he was not consulting them with regard to the wisdom or propriety of his act in issuing the proclamation, but solely with regard to its rhetorical form.

In the same spirit of independence, and with a like readiness to take responsibility upon himself, he dismissed his War Secretary for inefficiency, and dared to appoint to that exalted office, on grounds of superior fitness alone, Edwin M. Stanton, a Democrat, politically opposed to the Administration, profoundly distrusting its sincerity and its capacity, and not even commended to his favor by personal friendship for himself. He saw in Stanton a sincere patriot and a man capable of "getting things done," and done well. He therefore invited Stanton to become Secretary of War, in face of partisan jealousies and personal resentments. It would be difficult to imagine a loftier or more courageous act of administration than this was under the circumstances, and certainly none in all the history of Lincoln's Administration accomplished more than Stanton's appointment did for the result to which alone Lincoln's efforts were directed, namely, the restoration and perpetuation of the Union.

But again we are anticipating the order of events. When he came into office Lincoln realized the difficulties of the situation as no other man of that time seems to have done. The doctrine that a State had a right peaceably to withdraw from the Union had

been long and widely accepted. New England had threatened, in the Hartford Convention and upon at least one other occasion, to resort to secession as a remedy for conditions deemed intolerable. N. P. Banks, a distinguished representative of Mr. Lincoln's own party, and its first Speaker of the House of Representatives, had met the Southern threat of disunion with the slangy but expressive adjuration to "Let the Union slide," rather than consent to certain proposed aggressions of the slave power. The right of the government to coerce a seceding State into submission was denied by many and doubted by multitudes in both parties. To have inaugurated military operations, based upon the assertion of that right, at that time, would have been madness. It would have alienated from the Administration a world of support that Mr. Lincoln's wiser methods secured to it and retained.

Whatever the rights of the government in the matter of coercion might be, the people clearly understood and recognized the right and duty of the President to repossess the forts, arsenals, custom-houses, and other public property that had been seized by the seceding States. To that end, for the time at least, he directed military operations, and in that purpose he had the support of the country.

Then came a perplexing situation, and a most unfortunate event. Virginia — without whose pith and substance there could have been no war of consequence, and without whose geographical position

there could have been no effective line of military resistance—still stood out against secession as a policy, and the border States were awaiting her lead. The people of that State very generally believed in the *right* of a State to secede, but they had indicated, by their choice of men to represent them in the Constitutional Convention, their firm conviction that Mr. Lincoln's election had given no proper occasion for the exercise of that right. Even until the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter, the Virginia Convention remained resolutely and overwhelmingly opposed to the policy of secession. But in order to carry out his policy of recovering the forts, arsenals, etc., Mr. Lincoln must have troops, and the regular army could not furnish them. That army consisted of a mere handful of men, scattered over the country from Maine to California, and mainly engaged in the indispensable work of holding the Indians to peace. There was no alternative but to call upon the States for their several quotas of militiamen or volunteers. This Mr. Lincoln did. He asked for seventy-five thousand men, and apportioned the call among the States that had not yet seceded. Virginia was called upon for her quota, and she must either furnish the men or go into the revolt which she had previously refused to join. But to furnish the men would be to lend the State's military strength to what the people there sincerely believed to be an unwarranted and unjust war of coercion and subjugation, for which they, at least, found no warrant in the Constitution or in the history of the country. To the

Virginian mind there seemed no alternative to secession but dishonor, and a convention which had long stood out against secession as a policy, instantly accepted it by an almost unanimous vote as an obligation of honor. That ended the hesitation of the other border States, and the war was on.

This is not the place in which to recount the history of that long and bloody struggle. Nor is there necessity to do so. The history of that time is familiar to every educated reader. But certain facts concerning it must be pointed out because of their bearing upon the career and their incidental illustration of the character of Abraham Lincoln.

The South had certain important advantages over the North at the beginning of the struggle. It had made up its mind to war from the beginning, and much had been done there in the way of preparation which could not have been done at the North under the circumstances then existing. Moreover, the Southern people, after the secession of Virginia, were practically a unit in behalf of their cause, while at the North there was so great a division of sentiment and opinion that even so late as the summer of 1864 there was grave doubt felt as to the re-election of Mr. Lincoln over a candidate whose platform unequivocally denounced the war for the Union as a failure, and demanded its cessation, with the plainly implied condition of recognizing Southern independence, or in some other way yielding to the demands of the South.

As for Mr. Lincoln himself, his perplexities from

beginning to end of the war, and his occasions for depression, were such as must have been intolerable to any soul less resolute, less courageous, or less infinitely enduring than his. For every defeat of an army in the field he felt that the people held him responsible. For every failure of a campaign he bitterly blamed himself. His policies were carpingly criticised in Congress, in the public prints, and in private interviews with men who, representing large though often ill-informed portions of the people, eagerly and sometimes even angrily pressed unwise advice upon him.

It is the highest proof of his greatness that he endured all this and with a calm mind pursued to the end his one fixed purpose to restore and perpetuate the Union of these States.

When the evacuation of Richmond and the surrender of the small remaining fragment of Lee's army marked the accomplishment of that great purpose, Lincoln still had before him a task that might well have appalled him—the task of reconstruction. There can be no doubt that his efforts would have been directed to the single-minded purpose of restoring the Union, healing the wounds of war, and, as quickly as possible, obliterating the history of that four years of conflict as a ghastly memory that should be buried and forgotten. In that task he must have encountered all of antagonism that prejudice could invoke, and all of difficulty that passion could plant in his pathway. But Lincoln's work was done. These new and perplexing problems were not for him to solve. Almost at the moment

when the fruition of his labors came to him, he was stricken down by the bullet of an assassin, who professed to act in the name of that South to which he had never rendered a single hour's service in her time of need.

In the North Lincoln's death was everywhere accepted as a personal bereavement. In the South the assassination was resented as a crime, done in the name, but without the will of the Southern people, and also as the most grievous calamity that could have befallen them in their hour of sorest tribulation. For the people of the South had by that time learned in some degree to understand Abraham Lincoln. They had learned that he entertained no feeling of hostility to them; that his sole purpose throughout the war had been to bring about the restoration of the Union with the least possible of suffering or violence, and that with that end accomplished he would have busied himself — as his hurried amnesty proclamation bore eloquent witness — in the restoration of peace and good will between the lately warring sections.

On the other hand they profoundly distrusted Andrew Johnson, the Vice-president who must succeed Lincoln as chief magistrate. Johnson was a Southerner, and the men of the South regarded him as a renegade. They saw in his nature none of that gentle kindness of spirit which characterized Mr. Lincoln, and certainly none of that exalted sentiment of justice which was the very marrow of Mr. Lincoln's nature. And Andrew

Johnson took hurried pains to prove that in this estimate the men of the South were right. To no other part of the country was Lincoln's assassination a sorer calamity than to the Southern States.

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT

GENERAL GRANT was the typical modern soldier, as distinguished from the soldier of more imaginative times. War was to him a matter of simple, practical business, with no "pomp and circumstance," and nothing "glorious" about it. His sole idea of strategy, whether in the conduct of a campaign or in the ordering of a battle, was to "get things done." He reckoned up the means at his own command and those that the enemy could bring to bear against him. He considered how best he could employ his means to the accomplishment of the ends aimed at, and ordered his movements accordingly.

He brought to bear upon the conduct of battles and the planning of campaigns precisely the same sort of intelligence that he would have used if charged with the duty of removing a hill, or piercing it with a tunnel, or building a railroad, or doing anything else which required the wise employment of easily calculable resources in overcoming difficulties that could be, in a measure at least, estimated.

Grant had an iron will, indomitable courage, tireless

patience, and a persistence and pertinacity that knew no limit. And these qualities in him were not crippled, as they have been in many other commanders, by any weakness of sentiment or by any misleading of the imagination.

There is no doubt that he had tender pity for the sufferings to which he must subject his soldiers in order to accomplish the purposes they were set to achieve. There cannot be a question that he felt keen sympathy with his men in their hardships, and alert sorrow for the slaughter they endured and for that which he must inflict upon the enemy. But these were the means given to him for the accomplishment of world-important ends, and he did not flinch from their employment to the uttermost.

As for imagination, he seems never to have permitted that faculty of his mind to interfere with his calculations or his plans. General Sherman once said that Grant had advantage over himself in the fact that Grant never worried concerning what the enemy might be doing or intending to do somewhere out of his sight, but acted always upon the facts within range of his discovery, while he — Sherman — was constantly distressing himself with imaginings of possibilities. In other words, General Grant never permitted his imagination to take the reins from reason.

He was not at all a sentimental person, but very certainly he was not deficient in the tenderer sentiments of humanity becoming to a strong man. When he was President he manifested his compassionate



Ulysses Simpson Grant

From a photograph by W. Kurtz, N. Y.



nature by urging the newspaper correspondents to make a crusade in behalf of the comfort of horses. In other and higher ways Grant's tenderness of sentiment was shown on many occasions. Thus when the garrison at Vicksburg surrendered, he issued an order to forbid the wounding of a conquered enemy's feelings. "Instruct the commands," the order read, "to be orderly and quiet as these prisoners pass, and to make no offensive remarks." When he visited General Lee at Appomattox to receive his surrender he wore a blouse, with no trappings about him and with no sword at his belt. And after the surrender he forbade all cheering, generously intent upon sparing the feelings of a conquered foe. Still other examples may be cited to show that under his cold, business-like exterior General Grant was inspired by sentiments as warmly generous as any that more demonstrative soldiers have shown. When Andrew Johnson threatened the arrest of Lee for treason Grant was alert to remind him that in accepting Lee's surrender he had promised the Southern leader immunity from that indignity. And when Johnson manifested a disposition to persist, Grant "ended the incident" by announcing, in his calm, determined way, that if Lee were molested, he — Grant — would resign his command of the army and leave it to the people to decide between himself and "his Accidency," the President.

There is no doubt, indeed, that General Grant felt all the highest sentiments and enthusiasms of the soldier. Fortunately for his campaigns he did not let

these sentiments interfere with the necessary but more brutal work of war, the work of killing men and maiming them in order that the great purposes of war might be accomplished.

There is absolutely no question now in any well-informed mind that it was General Grant chiefly who made the war for the Union successful.

Born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822, he had been educated at West Point, graduating low in his class. He had served at various frontier posts. He had done such service in the Mexican War as to demonstrate his quality and to secure him promotion to the rank of captain. Then he had resigned to engage, unsuccessfully, in business in St. Louis. Quitting that business he had gone to Galena, Illinois, on a salary of $800 a year, which was eked out by the earnings of his slaves in Missouri. When the war broke out he offered his services to the government, but got no answer. Presently he was elected colonel of an Illinois regiment of volunteers, and in August, 1861, he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers. Thus by the back door, as it were, did this greatest commander of the national armies in the Civil War reach a position in which he could show what stuff he was made of and what manner of man he was.

He was ordered to Cairo, Illinois, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The enemy had seized upon the strategic points of Columbus, twenty-five miles below Cairo, and Hickman, a little farther

down the river. Grant learned that the enemy's purpose was next to seize upon Paducah, Kentucky, fifty miles up the Ohio, and he instantly set out to defeat it. Without orders—and in his case, as a brigadier-general of volunteers, being without orders meant being without permission to undertake such an operation—he resolved to prevent this. He moved at once with the force at hand, seized Paducah and held it, issuing a proclamation to the people in which he said, "I have nothing to do with opinions and shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors."

That was his attitude throughout the war. He held himself to be nothing but a soldier charged with the work of a soldier, and he adhered to that view not only during the war but after it, as was illustrated in the incident already related of his controversy with President Andrew Johnson as to the fulfilment of the promise he had given Lee at Appomattox.

At the time of his seizure of Paducah, Grant had not yet "won his spurs" as a military commander; nor did he win them in his first independent battle, at Belmont, Missouri. For a time successful in the fight, he was ultimately driven back and forced to re-embark his troops upon the steamboats that had carried them to the point of conflict. Nevertheless, he had won respect by the stubbornness of his fighting and by the extent of the losses he had inflicted upon the enemy.

Now, for the first time, Grant began planning a campaign. In January, 1862, he went to St. Louis and submitted his plan to his commander, General Halleck.

It concerned itself with the strategic advantage possessed by the Southern forces in holding Forts Henry and Donelson, the one on the Tennessee, and the other on the Cumberland River. Possession of those forts gave them command of two practically navigable rivers leading into the very heart of the Confederacy. It was Grant's idea to reverse this advantage by the capture of those forts, and he was convinced that with the aid of the gunboats he could seize and retain the two strongholds. He asked permission to do so. Halleck refused it with manifest impatience. But Grant submitted his plans again later, with the strong support of Commodore Foote, commander of the naval force. At last, on the 1st of February, Halleck consented to let Grant make the attempt, and on the next day the future commander-in-chief of the national armies set out to demonstrate what he could do with a meagre force unsupported by prospective reinforcements from any quarter. The story of the campaign is a familiar one. Grant captured both forts and thus planted the national power in the midst of the Confederacy, while opening the two great rivers as inestimably valuable lines of communication and of supply to the national forces destined to operate farther south.

This was the first of the decisive actions of the Civil War—the first capture of commanding strategic positions made anywhere by the Union forces. It was also the marked beginning of Grant's career as a commander given to accomplishing military ends by the determined use of military means. It opened the way

to his future campaigns. A general who had rescued two important rivers from the enemy's control, and captured two commanding strategic positions and with them 14,623 men, 65 pieces of artillery, and 17,000 stands of small arms, was certainly not one to be further restrained by that superior officer who had so reluctantly given him permission to undertake this brilliant operation. There is every reason to believe that Halleck still disliked and distrusted Grant, but in face of such achievements the commanding general could not forbid his subordinate to go on and win the war.

Promoted to be major-general of volunteers, but still holding no rank in the regular army, Grant instantly began to look about him for other opportunities of successful campaigning. With that instinct of promptitude in action which has always been the mark of a great soldier he planned a new campaign and instead of asking for permission to execute it he simply notified his superior that unless forbidden by express orders he intended to carry out his plans. This disregard of red tape brought Grant into new disfavor at headquarters, and for a time he was suspended from his command. But on 13th March he was restored to authority in view of the pressing need for his services which was created by a great concentration of the Confederates near Corinth, Mississippi, under Albert Sydney Johnston and Beauregard. With about 38,000 available men Grant established himself at Pittsburg Landing, to meet the obviously intended assault of the enemy. He placed his entire force south

of the river. It was a hazardous thing to do. It put the river at his back, thus making it certain that anything like a decisive defeat of his army must be beyond measure disastrous and destructive. But on the other hand it gave to him the utmost available force with which to repel the assault of the enemy, and it was Grant's habit of mind to consider present problems to the neglect of future contingencies. It was his plan to beat off the enemy's assault, and he did not much concern himself with the problem of retreat in case he should himself be beaten.

In the minds of military critics there is not the smallest doubt to-day that the results at Pittsburg Landing were made possible solely by Grant's daring in thus throwing the whole of his forces across the river. Even with all of them at command he had an exceedingly difficult task in maintaining a precarious foothold beyond the river till the coming of Buell's army enabled him to drive back the fierce second onset of the enemy. With less than the whole of his force he must apparently have been driven into the river, with a badly broken and disorganized army, on the evening of the first day and many hours before the arrival of Buell's strong column.

For that first day's struggle was unmistakably a Confederate victory, at least up to something near the end of it. Grant's forces were attacked in the early morning, badly broken, and, after a desperate day's fighting, beaten back to the river, until it seemed for a time that they must be driven into the stream to perish there.

But Grant's obstinacy and determination stood in the way. Concentrating what remained of his strength upon the river bank, he made so stout a resistance that Beauregard shrank from a charge across that valley of the shadow of death which lay between him and Grant's cornered and desperate artillery. To this we have Beauregard's written testimony, presented many years afterwards.

Thus Grant saved for himself a chance of re-inforcement and of further fighting, and for the Federal army a foothold south of the very last natural barrier between it and the Gulf of Mexico. When Buell came up the previously victorious Confederates were driven into a retreat which carried them well into Mississippi, and left in front of the invading force not a single serious physical obstacle thence to Mobile.

In the opinion of some critics, this was the strategic turning-point of the Civil War. They contend that by his desperate stand on the southern bank of the river, giving time for Buell to re-inforce him, Grant made the cutting in two and the ultimate destruction of the Confederacy inevitable.

Nevertheless, there was much and tremendous work to be done. There was still the superb power of resolute Southern armies to overcome, and to this task Grant addressed himself as soon as General Halleck, who had hurried to Pittsburg Landing to assume personal command, permitted him to prosecute his plans further.

The Confederates still held Vicksburg and Port

Hudson, and thus rendered the great Mississippi River a "no thoroughfare" between the Federal forces at New Orleans and those upon the river above. Vicksburg was clearly the key to the strategic situation, and Grant's eminently practical mind turned to the conquest of that strong position as the natural and necessary "objective" of the next campaign.

But it was not until the autumn that he was left again with a free hand, after some battles in which the advantage had been often on the side of the Southern arms.

Grant's first plan was to send Sherman down the river, and himself to advance upon the rear of Vicksburg by way of Holly Springs, Grenada, etc. He presently found his line of communications by this route too long and too attenuated to be successfully defended against an alert and active foe. He therefore moved his whole force to and down the Mississippi. It was in January that he arrived at a point near Vicksburg and took personal direction of the operations against that stronghold. Grant had the gunboats "run the batteries," a feat celebrated in song, and landing his forces, pushed them into a distinctly perilous position between Pemberton, defending Vicksburg, Johnston, operating from the interior of Mississippi for the relief of the stronghold, and the troops at Port Hudson, farther down the river. The operation occupied months of almost incessant battle, and on the fourth of July Vicksburg surrendered. Port Hudson fell as a necessary consequence, and the Confederacy was cleft in twain. Grant had

recovered for the Union the undisputed control of the Mississippi from Minnesota to the mouth.

Grant was now made a major-general in the regular army and placed in supreme command of all the western armies with Sherman, Thomas, and Burnside for his chief lieutenants. A series of brilliant operations and bloody battles around Knoxville and Chattanooga, and the battle of Chickamauga, resulted in driving the Confederates out of Tennessee and into Georgia. Thus by the spring of 1864 Grant had succeeded in opening the Mississippi, recovering control of Tennessee, and enormously crippling the enemy's resources. But there yet remained the tremendous power of Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia to be broken. One after another the great Confederate had beaten and driven back greatly superior forces under McClellan, Pope, Hooker, and Burnside, and he had twice formidably invaded the North, fighting two of the greatest battles of the war beyond the Potomac.

It is true that Lee's army had suffered enormous losses in the battles around Richmond, at Antietam, at Fredericksburg, at Chancellorsville, at Gettysburg, and in many severe contests of lesser note ; it is true too that the country behind him was pretty well exhausted of both men and supplies, and that he could draw scarcely any reinforcements from such Confederate armies as there were in other parts of the South without inviting the immediate overrunning of the cotton States and a complete collapse of the Confederate power. Nevertheless, Lee and his army now constituted the greatest

danger to the Union, the most serious obstacle to be overcome, at a time when a threatening political party at the North was preparing to nominate its candidate for the presidency upon a platform declaring the war to be a failure.

There was thus a double and very immediate reason for doing all that was possible during the summer of 1864 for the destruction or the crippling of Lee. To that task, early in the spring, Grant was called. He was transferred to Washington, made lieutenant-general, and placed in command of all the armies of the Union.

Then began that fierce struggle of the giants which ended at Appomattox after nearly a year of such strenuous fighting as military history has very rarely recorded.

Grant's plan of campaign was simple and practical. The Union armies greatly outnumbered those of the South, but hitherto their strength had been much impaired by attempts to occupy points that it was not necessary to occupy, and to hold regions that there was no strategic need to hold. Grant saw clearly that the Confederate power of resistance lay in the splendid fighting quality of the Southern armies, and that until those armies should be overthrown the war could not be brought to an end, no matter what or how much territory or what or how many important towns might be occupied. He decided that the sole "objective" of his campaigning should be the destruction of the Southern armies rather than the mere occupation of Southern towns and States. Here was the keynote of

his policy, and it is necessary to bear it always in mind if we would rightly estimate the military genius that inspired the operations of the war after Grant assumed supreme command.

It has often been said, by way of criticism, that Grant fought a series of exceedingly costly and bloody battles in order to reach a position before Petersburg and Richmond which he might have reached without the loss of a man by an advance up the James River—a path which McClellan's campaign had clearly pointed out to him. He did nothing of the kind. He did indeed fight terrible battles, but not for the purpose assumed. To plant his army before Richmond, and especially before Richmond's military key, Petersburg, was not at all Grant's primary object. His first and chief purpose was to break Lee's power of resistance before beginning a siege in which he must assail one of the finest and best commanded armies that the world has ever seen, securely entrenched and protected by every engineering device known to military science. In other words Grant's "objective" was not Richmond or Petersburg, but Lee's army, and there is no shadow of doubt that he crippled the power of that splendid military machine far more by the terrible fighting in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, and at Cold Harbor than he could have done with equal effort and loss by moving up the Peninsula and setting himself down before the Confederate capital and its commanding outpost. It was inevitable that he should suffer terrific losses in these operations, but he had reckoned upon that as a

part of the price the nation must pay for its ultimate deliverance, and, after all, these losses, heavy as they were, were doubtless much smaller than would have been suffered in the siege of Richmond and Petersburg had Grant adopted the plan that his critics suggest as wiser than his own. From the point of view that regards strategy as the art of accomplishing military ends, it is impossible to regard Grant's campaign from the Wilderness to Petersburg otherwise than as eminently wise and brilliantly successful.

But the conduct of the war in Virginia was by no means all of it. Having set out to crush Lee's army, recognizing it as the very vitals of Confederate resistance, Grant took pains that it should receive no accessions of strength from any quarter to make good its losses in battle and to offset the reinforcements he was constantly drawing from the North to repair the terrible ravages in his own columns. To that end he concentrated all the forces of the Union in a number of effective and well commanded armies and set to each its task. Sherman, with the combined forces in the West, was ordered so to operate against Johnston at Atlanta as to forbid the sending of reinforcements to Lee, and, if possible, to achieve a victory in that quarter; Banks, at New Orleans, was ordered to carry on an offensive campaign against Mobile, so that no troops might be spared from the forces defending that post: Butler, in command of the Peninsula, was ordered to threaten Petersburg and Richmond with all his force, and thus prevent Beauregard from sending assistance to Lee.

Meantime Sigel was directed to carry on persistently active operations in the Valley of Virginia to prevent the strengthening of Lee from the Confederate forces there.

Thus Lee received no considerable reinforcements during that month of ceaseless pounding, and although Grant had lost forty or fifty thousand men in the campaign, he at last sat down in front of Lee's trenches relatively much stronger than at the beginning of the campaign. For the men that Lee had lost in the fearful struggle could never be replaced, while Grant's own losses were easily and quickly made good by reinforcements.

This was assuredly the strategy of common sense, and Grant pursued it to the end. The breaking of Lee's resisting power was very clearly and very certainly the one military problem to be solved.

Again recognizing his advantage of superior numbers, Grant at once began extending his Petersburg lines to the left and front, compelling Lee to make a like extension until the Confederate forces were drawn out into an attenuated thread, and finally cutting one of their important lines of communication by crossing the Weldon Railroad and establishing himself securely west of it.

Meantime he continued his policy of keeping the Confederate forces in other parts of the South hard pressed by the ceaseless operations of Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, and his other lieutenants, several important battles resulting. Sherman pushed his way to

Atlanta, and entered that stronghold at the beginning of September. Under Grant's direction Sheridan made earnest and successful war against Early in the Valley of Virginia ; and all along Grant's own line, from a point north of Richmond to the southern extremity of his works south of Petersburg, he directed a ceaseless series of assaults, now here and now there, some of them resulting in the seizure of important works, and all of them so planned and timed as to give the enemy no opportunity to concentrate his forces anywhere.

In November Sherman, at Atlanta, abandoned his base and communications and began his march to Savannah, leaving Thomas in command of the forces in Tennessee. Instead of following Sherman, the Confederates, under Hood, pushed their columns northward, and assailed Thomas's forces at Nashville and Franklin, reaping a harvest of disaster as the result. Within less than a month Sherman reached Savannah, and invested that city, forcing the enemy to evacuate it. About the same time Grant sent a combined naval and military force, under direction of Butler, to capture Fort Fisher, a Confederate stronghold of great importance near Wilmington, North Carolina. Butler failed, but Grant held to his purpose, and sent a second expedition under Terry to execute it. Terry succeeded, after one of the most desperate struggles of the war.

Thus, within three quarters of a year after taking supreme command, Grant's operations had so far broken up the Confederate power of resistance that the end of the struggle manifestly drew near. But there remained

Lee with the remnant of his splendid Army of Northern Virginia, and while Lee remained in the field there was no safety for the Union. Grant planned, therefore, for a second campaign in the spring of 1865, directed, as before, to the sole purpose of crushing Lee's army. In preparation for this, and while waiting for spring to make field operations in Eastern Virginia practicable, he ordered Sherman, with his army of 60,000 men, to march northward from Savannah, brought Schofield from Tennessee to Alexandria, Virginia, whence he sent him by sea to North Carolina to operate against Wilmington, and directed Sheridan to drive Early out of the Valley of Virginia. These operations were brilliantly successful.

In the meantime Sherman on his northward march had captured Columbia, South Carolina, thus cutting Charleston off and compelling its evacuation. Thence he continued his march northward, stoutly but unsuccessfully opposed by Johnston at every available point of resistance. He reached Goldsboro, North Carolina, on March 23d where Schofield, who had come up from Wilmington, was awaiting him with reinforcements.

Still pursuing the plan he had followed from the beginning, Grant kept his lieutenants in every part of the country at work to prevent the sending of reinforcements to Lee or Johnston and to prevent the possibility of a junction between those two. He brought Sheridan to Petersburg, sent Hancock to command the troops near Washington, ordered Pope, in Missouri, to drive Price beyond Red River, directed Canby, at New

Orleans, to move in force against Mobile, and Stoneman to march from East Tennessee toward Lynchburg, Virginia.

The time was now ripe for the final struggle, and Grant made his dispositions accordingly, his plan being to break through Lee's lines south of Petersburg, thus compelling Lee to abandon his entrenchments and go into hurried, harassed, and hopeless retreat. In order that the retreat might be made harassed and hopeless he sent Sheridan to Dinwiddie Court House, and thence on to Five Forks, so that when the retreat should begin he might hang upon Lee's left flank and front and force him out of his line of march, pressing him towards James River on the north and rendering it impossible for him to reach the Roanoke, which offered his only possible line of renewed defence. Other dispositions were made with like purpose, and on the 2d of April, following a brilliant success achieved by Sheridan at Five Forks, Grant hurled his entire force against Lee's main line of defences at Petersburg and carried them, driving Lee into a confused retreat, both Richmond and Petersburg being evacuated that night.

With Sheridan well in front on Lee's left, with strong forces closely following Sheridan, and with Grant pressing the Confederate rear, the remnant of Lee's army was steadily pressed back toward the James River and kept almost ceaselessly in action.

After a week of this struggle Lee found himself at Appomattox, with his army reduced to a meagre force, with no food for his soldiers and no source of supply,

with Sheridan and Ord in front of him, Grant on his left and rear, and with no thoroughfare open to him in any direction. He had no choice but to surrender before his already famished men should starve to death, and on the 9th of April he capitulated.

Grant's work of war was ended. The task he had undertaken a year before was done. The programme he had marked out for himself when he crossed into the Wilderness and had resolutely adhered to was now fulfilled. He had broken the Confederate power of resistance and in effect the war was over.

The next three years of Grant's life afforded a severer trial of his character than war itself had done. His protest against the purpose of President Johnson to bring Lee and the other surrendered Confederate leaders to trial on charges of high treason, accompanied as that protest was by a written threat to resign his commission if that course were persisted in, gave offence to the President, the more because it aroused a popular sentiment which compelled Johnson to abandon his cherished purpose. From that time forward there was an almost continuous struggle between the President and the General of the army—for to that rank, revived by Congress especially for Grant's rewarding, he was raised in 1866. This contest placed Grant in a most delicate and embarrassing position, compelling him in many cases to choose between violating the law on the one hand and disobeying the orders of his superior officer on the other. With that superb moral courage which was the dominant characteristic of the man,

Grant steadfastly and at all hazards adhered to what he conceived to be his duty throughout all that trying period, and from beginning to end of it he triumphed. He had Congress and the people with him and so far from damaging his popularity his contest with Johnson brought him into even greater favor than before with his countrymen, though there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he ever took that result into consideration. His course was determined at every step by his convictions of duty, and apparently without any regard whatever to personal consequences.

It was quite inevitable that Grant should be chosen President at the election of 1868. Only his refusal to accept the post could have prevented that, and he did not refuse it. He was elected in November by an overwhelming majority of both the popular and electoral votes, and he entered upon the office in March, 1869.

His acceptance of the presidency was deemed by many of his friends at the time a mistake. It was thought to be a step perilous to his popularity. While he remained General of the army he was subject to no political hostility, no partisan criticism. He belonged to no party. His fame was the cherished possession of all men who rejoiced in the restoration of the Union by virtue of his splendid military achievements. The moment he became the candidate of one party he was subject to the antagonism and the hostile criticism of the other. When he entered upon office the country was still wrestling with perplexed questions growing

out of the war and reconstruction and the status of the negro at the South. As President he must affirmatively deal with these matters, and it was impossible that he should so deal with them as not to offend and antagonize a large part of the people.

In fact that is what occurred. At the end of his first term a considerable body of influential Republicans, including some of the most potent of Republican newspaper editors, went into revolt, nominated Horace Greeley, and sought alliance with the Democrats for his election. The effort failed conspicuously and Grant was re-elected by even larger popular and electoral majorities than before.

It is not the purpose of this essay to review the acts of Grant's administration in detail or to criticise them closely. Without doubt he made serious mistakes, partly through his lack of acquaintance with politics and politicians, and partly through his mistaken estimates of men. But also, without doubt, he rendered some very notable services to the country by his administrative acts, and by the exercise of his influence.

Chief among these must be reckoned his work in rescuing the nation from threatened repudiation and financial dishonor, and in leading the way to the restoration of a sound currency.

To these purposes he devoted himself earnestly from the beginning. It was due to his insistent urging that Congress, early in his first term, passed "an Act to strengthen the public credit" by pledging the national honor to the payment of all the government's obligations

in coin, except where payment in other forms was expressly stipulated in the contract. In 1874, under pressure of popular clamor, due to the financial and industrial depression which the panic of a year before had left behind it, Congress passed a bill to inflate the already depreciated paper currency. Grant was urged by many of the most influential leaders of his party to approve the measure. They assured him of its political necessity, predicting defeat for the Republicans at the next election should this relief be denied to the people. Grant weighed the matter carefully, and decided that the measure was unwise and dangerous to the financial integrity of the nation. In face of all protests, therefore, and in disregard of all political consequences that might flow from his act, he vetoed the bill, sending to Congress a message in which he so clearly set forth the impolicy of inflation that the legislative body refused to override the veto. The effect was even more far-reaching than that. The veto put an end, once for all, to serious attempts to secure paper inflation, and made possible the passage of the Resumption Act and its execution four years after Grant's second term expired.

Grant was also the first President since John Quincy Adams's time who made earnest and well directed efforts to secure a reform in the civil service by making appointments depend upon demonstrated capacity and fitness. In these efforts he was without the support of any considerable body of opinion, either in Congress or in the country. The subject had not been brought to the attention of the people. Marcy's dictum that "to

the victors belong the spoils" had long been accepted as an axiom. Grant appears to have had no doctrinaire convictions on the subject. He simply saw—plain, blunt man of practical sense that he was—that, as he expressed it in his message of 1870, "the present system does not secure the best men, and not even fit men, for the public service." He wished to change it simply in order that the country might be better served by a fitter class of men. His efforts to accomplish that purpose were balked by congressional and popular indifference, but they served to arouse the public intelligence and awaken the public conscience on the subject, and unquestionably we owe most of the improvement that has since been wrought to Grant's timely initiative.

In common with all enlightened military commanders, Grant deprecated war as the worst calamity that can befall a nation, and his plan for avoiding it was that approved by the moral sense of the highest civilization. At a time when our relations with Great Britain were strained almost to the breaking-point, he spoke these words of righteousness: "I would deal with nations as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other."

In this spirit Grant sought and secured the settlement of all differences between the United States and Great Britain by arbitration, under a treaty secured mainly by the persistent exercise of his masterful influence in behalf of peace. The service thus rendered to the country and to humanity was incalculably bene-

ficent at the time, and it furnished to civilized nations a precedent of inestimable value. It made an end of the old tradition that only by war could a great nation secure justice or maintain its prestige. It was the beginning of that advance in civilization which sought at The Hague conference to formulate a system of arbitration sufficient to answer all the just purposes of war. The old savagery still resists and war is not yet at an end; but important progress has been made since the two great English-speaking nations set an exalted example under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington, and they are not optimists or the idle dreamers of vain things who hope that the new century, while it is yet young, will make of war between great civilized states a thing of the past.

And that preference of peaceful measures to brute force which Grant advocated as a principle, he practised in the actual conduct of vexed foreign relations. The disturbed condition of Cuba and the Spanish oppressions there appealed strongly to American sympathies, and afforded full justification for armed intervention on the part of this country. And when, in 1873, Spain added insult and injury to the United States by the seizure of the American vessel *Virginius*, and the deliberate butchery of ninety Americans, the sentiment of the country strongly favored an immediate declaration of war. The President stood firmly for peace, not by omitting the obvious duty of demanding reparation, but by seeking reparation in peaceful instead of warlike ways. Haughtily angry as Spain was, and

vainglorious as to her power, Grant nevertheless succeeded by diplomacy in inducing her to make quite all the reparation that successful war could have secured.

During Grant's period of service the work of restoring the seceding States to the Union was completed; the Kuklux proceedings at the South were repressed; an amnesty bill was passed which restored all but three hundred and fifty of the late Confederates to full citizenship; a system of refunding the national debt was adopted at his suggestion, which resulted in an enormous reduction of the interest charge; the heavy taxes rendered necessary by war were reduced, and many of them abolished, and at the end of his second term he quitted office, leaving behind him a record of achievement in behalf of his country which might of itself have entitled him to fame, had he never been a soldier at all.

Upon his retirement from office, in 1877, General Grant made a tour around the world which occupied somewhat more than two years. His journey was like a royal progress. In every country visited kings, princes, and people paid extraordinary homage to him, testifying, in every imaginable way, the honor in which the whole world held him as soldier and statesman.

Having retired to private life with a scanty fortune, he unwisely suffered himself to be drawn into a banking partnership with one Ferdinand Ward, who robbed and swindled everybody associated with him, and when the inevitable catastrophe came in 1884 General Grant was left impoverished and in seriously broken

health. The public knowledge of his unflinching integrity alone saved him from the worse fate of being held responsible for his partner's misdeeds.

The painful malady which a year later ended in his death had already seized upon him, but resolutely and uncomplainingly he took up the task of providing for his family by the writing of a book of Memoirs, and in order that this provision for those dear to him might not fail he continued his labors upon it even after ceaseless pain had made existence itself a torture to him. Only four days before his death he completed the writing, and with it his work in the world. Thus to the end those high qualities of patience, endurance, courage to bear as well as to do, unflinching devotion to duty, and unconquerable determination which had made him great in the days of his strength shone forth undimmed as he approached death in bodily anguish but without a murmur of complaint or a suggestion of self-pity. His greatness of soul endured to the end.



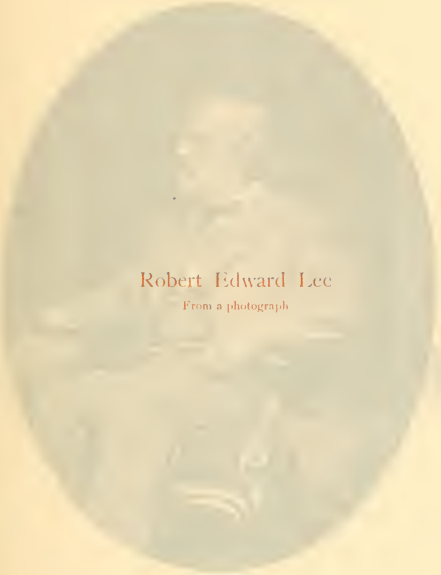
ROBERT EDWARD LEE

EXALTATION of moral character, unfaltering devotion to duty, as he understood it, measureless patience, and a self-control that no stress of circumstances could weaken — these were the qualities that made Robert Edward Lee great as a man. Of those military gifts which in early manhood marked him in the eyes of his superiors as the fittest successor of General Scott in command of the army, and which in the war of 1861–65 secured for him the admiration of all men North and South as the foremost soldier and strategist on the Southern side, there will be occasion to speak later.

It is not recorded of Lee, or remembered by those who were nearest to him, that he ever uttered a complaint during all the weary struggle against odds of numbers and resources, or that he ever excused the failure of any of his enterprises by pleading lack of means or by casting the responsibility upon others. When at Gettysburg his supreme effort came to naught because of Longstreet's failure to support Pickett's charge with all his force, and because of Ewell's neglect

on another part of the field, Lee's countrymen were fierce in their censure of these his lieutenants. Lee came to their rescue, calmly announcing that he alone was responsible for the miscarriage of his plans, thus bravely taking all the blame upon himself. And when the war was over he sought in no way to excuse his defeat. He offered no pleas in abatement of any criticism that might be made upon his conduct of campaigns. He said nothing of the odds that had been against him. He did not even mention the fact that the obstinacy of the Confederate President and cabinet had compelled him to hold Richmond when his military judgment clearly recognized the necessity of evacuating an untenable position and retiring to one where, by calling Johnston's army to his aid, he might still have hoped to achieve something of success in the field. Nor did he ever complain of the sentimentality which denied him the privilege of enlisting negroes for the defence of the Richmond and Petersburg lines, thus setting free a part of his veteran forces for campaigns northward that would at least have afforded valuable possibilities. He wrote no memoirs to explain defeat by setting forth the embarrassing restrictions under which he was placed, or by fastening upon others their fair share of responsibility. He calmly turned to the new duties of peace, leaving his fame to such judgment as posterity might render, unassisted by any suggestions or explanations from himself.

In the matter of descent Lee was born to the best. He was the son of "Lighthorse Harry" Lee, Washing-



Robert Edward Lee

From a photograph



ton's nearest friend and most trusted subordinate—the one man in whom he retained confidence and with whom he dared consult when Arnold's treason left him in doubt as to the loyalty of all his other lieutenants. Lee inherited traditions of the most sensitive honor, and with them those qualities of mind and character which have been set forth at the beginning of this paper as his dominant characteristics. By marriage he was closely allied with other families of like traditions and character, and in his United States army life the esteem in which he was held secured for him all that was best in the matter of intimate association.

Lee was born at Stratford, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 19th of January, 1807. He was therefore twenty-two years of age when he was graduated, second in his class, from the Military Academy at West Point. As an honor man he received a commission in the engineer corps, always accounted the best in the service, and the one to which only men of superior attainments are assigned. During the peaceful period that followed, promotion in the army was necessarily slow, and of opportunities for purely military distinction, in the engineer corps especially, there were next to none. Lee won the regard of his superiors however by his masterly work in the improvement of rivers and harbors, and nine years after he received his first commission as a second lieutenant, he had risen to a captaincy. He still held that rank when the Mexican War, declared in 1846, brought to him an opportunity to exercise his engineering skill in military

ways. Here he soon distinguished himself. General Scott frankly attributed the fall of Vera Cruz to Lee's ability as an engineer and his conduct as a soldier. He was thrice brevetted during that war, the last time to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in recognition of his services in the storming of Chapultepec.

In 1852 he was selected to command the Military Academy at West Point, where he improved and extended the course of study and wrought other changes of enduring advantage to the institution and to military education in America. Three years later he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army and sent to Texas, where he served, with a brief interval at the time of John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, until called to Washington on the approach of the Civil War.

This war brought to Lee the severest ordeal of his life—involving at once a conflict of emotions and a conflict of duties. He had always been devoted to the Union and to its military service, and in common with the majority of Virginians at that time he regarded secession as altogether unwise, impolitic, and unnecessary. Yet in common with nearly all Virginians he believed firmly in the constitutional right of a State to secede from the Union. That doctrine indeed had been widely accepted in time past at the North as well as at the South, and in certain crises of history many leaders of opinion in New England had seriously contemplated its exercise as a remedy for evils which they felt to be growing intolerable. In common with such

men as William C. Wickham and Jubal Early — who in the Virginia convention opposed secession to the end, but when it was decreed became notable military leaders on the Southern side — Lee believed that his first and highest allegiance was due to his State, and that the act of Virginia in withdrawing from the Union was binding upon his conscience. So long as Virginia refused to secede he remained in the military service, though he declined an offer of the chief command of the national armies which was made to him at the time. When Virginia adopted an ordinance of secession Lee resigned his commission, in great distress of mind, under an overmastering sense of duty.

He wrote a letter at the time to his sister, the wife of an army officer in the national service. In it he gave the only expression he is known ever to have given, to the convictions and sentiments that determined his course in the matter.

"We are now in a state of war," he wrote, "which will yield to nothing. The whole South is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end for redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question whether I should take part against my native State. With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the army, and save in defence of my native State,—with the sincere hope that my poor services may never be needed — I hope I may never be called upon to draw my sword."

We have here a moving suggestion of the tragedy of

that time; of the heart breaks that were involved in events which cruelly set brother against brother; of the perplexity of mind in which officers of Southern birth, holding commissions in the regular army, were compelled to confront a divided and uncertain duty; for Lee's was only one of many cases of the kind.

As the head of the national army, General Scott deeply lamented the loss of Lee. Too old and infirm to take the field himself, he had hoped to have Lee as his right hand, especially in the work of organizing the new levies and converting them into an army fit to take the field. He regarded Lee's resignation as a sorer loss than those of all the others who had surrendered their commissions combined, and pronounced him the ablest organizer of military forces in all the land.

It was to work of that organizing character that Lee at once devoted himself on his arrival at Richmond. He accepted the command of all the Virginia forces, and set to work with diligence to convert the enthusiastic volunteers into drilled and disciplined soldiers. A little later, Virginia having joined the Southern Confederacy, the capital was transferred from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, and Lee was commissioned as one of the five full generals appointed by Mr. Davis.

He selected the strong strategic position at Manassas Junction as the first point of resolute resistance and at his suggestion an army under Beauregard was sent thither, while another, under Johnston, was concentrated near Winchester in the lower, or northern end of the Shenandoah Valley. Lee himself went to the west-

ern part of the State to settle the differences which had arisen among the subordinate commanders there and to repair the blunders they had made. There were no opportunities for conspicuous service in that quarter and for a time Lee was lost to the popular view and his fame was obscured by the very dramatic success of Johnston and Beauregard at Manassas or Bull Run.

With the exception of the action near Leesburg, Virginia, on the 21st of October, there were no military operations of consequence in Virginia during 1861 after the battle at Manassas Junction. Johnston was content to hold Centreville and Fairfax Court House, with strong cavalry outposts on Mason's and Munson's hills within sight of Washington, while on the other side, McClellan occupied himself with the work of reorganizing the army which had retreated in panic and disintegration from Bull Run.

In the autumn a Union force assailed the coast of South Carolina and captured the forts at Beaufort and near the mouth of the Savannah River, together with Hilton Head and other islands of strategic importance. For a time it was thought at Richmond that a determined winter campaign was to be prosecuted in that quarter, and Lee was sent South to prepare the means of resistance. As no such campaign was attempted Lee was again hidden from view, living mainly in humble quarters at the little hamlet of Coosawhatchie, with almost no staff and without any of the visible indications of high military rank about him. He strongly fortified Charleston, Savannah, and the coast

between, taking such advantage of the swampy and creek-laced country as to make it possible for a very small force to defend the Charleston and Savannah Railroad against the most determined assaults. So well did he do his work that a mere handful of men did in fact defend that important line until the very end.

In March, 1862, Lee was ordered to Richmond and "under the direction of the President" was "charged with the conduct of military operations in the armies of the Confederacy." That is to say he was in effect made Commander-in-chief of all the Southern armies, and vested with an authority similar to that conferred upon Grant on the other side two years later. But he did not immediately take direct command of any army or personally take part in field operations. He remained in Richmond, directing all the generals in the field in the best employment of their forces.

A little later in the spring McClellan manifested a purpose to advance upon Johnston at Centreville, and in accordance with the Fabian policy which he always practised, Johnston fell back behind the Rappahannock, a position which later in the war was recognized as the best in Northern Virginia for successful resistance to armies coming from the direction of Washington. But McClellan had no real intention of advancing upon Richmond by that route. Instead he transferred his base to Fortress Monroe, and marched up the peninsula. Johnston met this movement by transferring his force to Williamsburg, leaving Jackson in the Valley of Virginia and Ewell in command of such

forces as remained on the Rappahannock line. When in May McClellan's advance reached Williamsburg Johnston fell back to the neighborhood of Richmond. McClellan again advanced and established his line upon the Chickahominy River. He had an effective force of more than 100,000 men, against the much smaller army that confronted him, but it was McClellan's habit of mind to exaggerate his enemy's strength, and he mistakenly believed himself outnumbered. He therefore fortified and postponed operations to await the arrival of McDowell, who with 40,000 men was advancing by way of Fredericksburg.

Lee decided promptly to prevent this reinforcement. To that end he ordered Ewell, with his whole force to move into the valley and join Jackson there, at the same time directing Jackson, thus reinforced, to drive Banks across the Potomac and threaten Washington. This strategy completely succeeded. Apprehensive for the safety of the capital, the authorities recalled McDowell's army for its defence, and McClellan was left without the great addition to his strength upon which he had confidently counted.

McClellan's line now lay mainly to the north of the Chickahominy, but with a strong force entrenched on the southern side of that river. A flood coming, Johnston vigorously assailed this force in the hope of crushing it before assistance could be brought to it across the swollen stream. Thus occurred, on the 31st of May, the battle of Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, as it is variously called.

Johnston was severely wounded in the action, and completely disabled for service for many months to come. Lee immediately took personal command of the army before Richmond, at the same time retaining and exercising his authority as Commander-in-chief to direct the operations of the other armies of the Confederacy. Thus, for the first time, he found himself in direct command of an important force in the field, and then began that career of battle and strategy which so brilliantly demonstrated his superiority to all the other Southern commanders in those qualities that bring fame to a soldier.

He set to work at once to dislodge McClellan and raise what was in moral effect the siege of Richmond. First he sent Stuart with his cavalry on a raid in rear of McClellan, in search of information as to the condition of the roads and whatever else it might be desirable to know. Next he ordered Jackson to move secretly from the valley to Ashland on the Fredericksburg Railroad, a dozen or twenty miles northwest of Richmond. Lee's plan was to have Jackson advance from Ashland, and assail the rear and flank of McClellan's right wing, thus uncovering the crossings; to throw the other Confederate corps across as rapidly as possible, and concentrate them in McClellan's rear, threatening his communications, and compelling him to quit his entrenchments and either accept battle in the open or go into retreat.

There were some miscarriages and delays in the execution of the movement, which began on June 26th;

but after seven days of continuous marching and fighting, McClellan's army was forced back under the protection of the gunboats in James River, and his campaign against Richmond had ended in failure. He had saved the credit of his arms, however, by his last stand at Malvern Hill, where he repulsed with great slaughter the repeated and determined assaults of the Confederates.

But Richmond was not yet safe. McClellan had indeed been dislodged, but at Harrison's Landing he was still within easy striking distance of the Confederate capital, and his army was still very strong and wholly unbroken in spirit. Moreover, another army of considerable proportions, under command of General Pope, was advancing, unopposed, by way of Manassas Junction to join McClellan. Lee strongly felt the necessity not only of preventing this junction, but of managing in some way, for the sake of moral effect, if for nothing else, to transfer the active theatre of war to a greater distance from Richmond.

In attempting this, he reckoned upon the excessive concern felt at the North for the safety of Washington. If he could manage to threaten that city without losing Richmond in the operation, he was confident that McClellan's force would be quickly withdrawn by water to the national capital.

Accordingly, on July 13th, Lee ordered Jackson with his own and Ewell's commands, to operate in Northern Virginia. Jackson moved to Orange Court House, and near the end of July Lee sent A. P. Hill's corps to

reinforce him there. Jackson pushed across the river and engaged a part of Pope's force at Cedar Mountain, on the 9th of August. Two days afterwards he recrossed the river to await the reinforcements which Lee was hurrying forward from Richmond as rapidly as the gradual withdrawal of McClellan's army to protect Washington permitted. Having at last transferred practically his entire army to the Rapidan, Lee took personal command on August 14th. Lee's force slightly exceeded Pope's, and it was the plan of the Confederate General to attack as soon as dispositions could be made to that end. But Pope, discovering his danger, withdrew to the stronger defensive line north of the Rappahannock. Lee moved by his left flank up the river, but Pope moved with equal celerity, and at every available point had his force strongly posted to resist any attempt on Lee's part to force the river. Finally, at a point near Warrenton Springs, Lee came to a halt and made demonstrations as if trying to pass the stream in face of his resolute adversary. While thus occupying Pope's attention, Lee detached Jackson and sent him to march around Bull Run Mountain and through Thoroughfare Gap to strike the enemy's rear.

The movement was completely concealed and entirely successful. On the 26th, Jackson reached Manassas Junction and captured Pope's supply depots there. Meantime, Lee had sent Longstreet to follow the same route and reinforce Jackson, which he did on the 29th. Pope had hurriedly retired to protect his communications, and, having received reinforcements from Mc-

Clellan, posted himself to give battle on the same field on which the first considerable battle of the war had been fought. For two days he assailed Lee's lines with all possible vigor, but at the end of that time Lee succeeded in driving him across Bull Run to Centreville, five or six miles nearer Washington. There Lee turned his position and Pope retreated towards Washington.

Thus within two months, and with a force inferior to that of McClellan, Lee had raised the siege of Richmond, overthrown Pope at the head of another army equal to his own in strength, and so manœuvred as to compel the withdrawal of all actively invading forces from Virginia.

He now planned to transfer the scene of operations to the northern side of the Potomac. Practically abandoning his base of supplies and planning to subsist his army of forty-five thousand men upon the country, he passed the Potomac on the 5th of September and took up a position near Frederick, Maryland, where his presence was a threat at once to Washington, Baltimore, and the cities farther north. But the strong garrison at Harper's Ferry did not withdraw as Lee had expected, and as it commanded his route to the Valley of Virginia, it was necessary for him to reduce the stronghold before continuing his movement in any direction. Accordingly he sent Jackson back across the Potomac to assail Harper's Ferry from the south, while McLaws, Walker, and D. H. Hill seized and held respectively Maryland Heights, Loudon Heights, and Boonesboro Pass, Lee moving with the rest of his army to Hagerstown

in search of subsistence. Jackson captured Harper's Ferry, with all the stores there and eleven thousand men, but meantime the temporary scattering of Lee's army in five different bodies was made known to McClellan, who was slowly advancing from Washington to meet him. Lee had written out for the information of his generals a detailed order setting forth his plans of concentration and incidentally revealing the fact of his army's temporary dispersal. A copy of this order fell into McClellan's hands and that commander hastened forward to take advantage of the opportunity of crushing his adversary in detail. He assailed D. H. Hill at Boonesboro Pass on September 14th, but failed to drive him from his position. Lee reinforced Hill and during the night withdrew to Sharpsburg or Antietam, where two days later he succeeded in concentrating his whole force, except A. P. Hill's division. On the 17th the two armies met in one of the most fiercely contested battles of the war. Neither gained a decisive victory and for the twenty-four hours after the battle they confronted each other, neither venturing to renew the contest. But Lee's plan of invasion was foiled, and during the night of the 18th the Confederates retired across the river and took position at Winchester, McClellan not pursuing them. A month later Lee retired to the line of the Rappahannock.

Thus ended Lee's first campaign in the field. At its beginning the Confederate capital was sorely pressed by an army of 100,000 men entrenched almost within cannon shot of the city. By battle and strategy Lee had

driven that army away, overthrown Pope at Manassas, transferred the seat of war for a time to the other side of the Potomac and completely reversed the situation so far as it affected the moral conditions on either side. But he had been unsuccessful in the decisive battle of the campaign, and his plan of invading the North had failed. Nevertheless the moral effect of the campaign upon the Southern army and people was very great. The men of the army had learned almost to idolize their leader, and the Southern people's faith in both army and leader was without bounds.

Burnside having succeeded McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, made his base at Acquia Creek on the Potomac and sought to advance upon Richmond by way of Fredericksburg thus securing a short line and keeping Washington always covered. Lee, with 80,000 men, took up a strong position on the hills in rear of Fredericksburg and awaited Burnside's attack. Burnside threw about 100,000 men across the river, and on the 13th of December hurled his columns upon the Confederate lines. The advantage of ground was with Lee and even that marvellously determined and heroic series of assaults which the national troops made upon Marye's Heights failed utterly of effect. After a whole day of continuous battling Burnside withdrew to the river bank, having lost nearly 13,000 men to Lee's loss of a little more than 5000. Lee's critics have pointed out that as Burnside tarried during the whole of the next day on the southern side of the river, and had only some frail pontoon bridges as his means of

crossing, the Confederate commander might have assailed him on the bank on the day after the battle, with every prospect of crushing or capturing his army. But Lee hoped that Burnside would renew the effort to carry his works, and was confident of his ability, in that event, not only to repel all assaults but to inflict the severest punishment at cost of small losses on his own part. But after waiting a day, Burnside withdrew to the north of the river on the 15th and the military operations of 1862 were at an end.

With the coming of the spring of 1863 General Hooker, who had succeeded Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac, planned a campaign upon new strategic lines. His army numbered about 120,000 men while Lee's had been reduced by detachments and otherwise to about 57,000. It was Hooker's purpose to compel Lee to abandon his strong position at Fredericksburg, divide his comparatively small force, and accept battle in the open field. To that end he ordered Sedgwick with about 30,000 men, to cross the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg, threatening Lee's right, while with the main army he should himself cross the river above into the Wilderness and by marching to Chancellorsville, turn the left of the Confederate position.

These movements were carried out, and Lee, leaving about 9000 men to hold the works at Fredericksburg against Sedgwick, marched to Chancellorsville and met Hooker there at the beginning of May. After forcing Hooker's advance back upon the main body which had taken a defensive attitude, Lee determined

upon the hazardous experiment of dividing his already inferior force of 48,000 men in front of his enemy. He sent Jackson, with more than two thirds of the army to march round Hooker and strike him in flank and rear. Jackson accomplished this movement without discovery while Lee, with about 14,000 men, occupied the enemy's attention in front. Jackson delivered his blow in the late afternoon of May 2d, taking his enemy completely by surprise and throwing a part of his line into confusion. Jackson receiving a mortal wound, the command devolved upon Stuart, who renewed the contest the next morning and forced his way to a reunion with Lee, who instantly ordered an advance of the whole line. The assault was made with such impetuosity that Hooker was driven from his position and withdrew in some confusion to the banks of the river in his rear. Then Lee turned about to meet Sedgwick, who had carried the works at Fredericksburg and was marching against the Confederate right at Chancellorsville. After a sharp action Sedgwick was pressed to and across the river, and by the 6th the whole of Hooker's army had retired to the northern bank, to resume position opposite Fredericksburg.

At Fredericksburg Lee was still confronted by an army greater in numbers than he could hope to make his own, even by calling to him every available reinforcement. It was for him to choose whether he should stand on the defensive and await events or should undertake a campaign of aggression in an effort to remove

the seat of active warfare to a region farther from Richmond. He decided upon the latter course. But as in the case of his dealing with McClellan, it was necessary to proceed cautiously so as not to uncover Richmond to an army strong enough to capture that city if unopposed by any force except the meagre garrison there. His plan was to threaten Washington as he had done before and thus compel the Army of the Potomac to retire from its advanced position and defend the capital.

In pursuance of this plan he first detached Ewell and sent him to the Shenandoah Valley with orders to drive out the national forces there under Milroy. As soon as he thought it prudent to do so he detached Longstreet to march northward east of the Blue Ridge. By this time the menace to Washington was so serious that Hooker withdrew from the Rappahannock and fell back upon the capital, precisely as Lee had expected and intended. Lee immediately sent his remaining corps, under A. P. Hill, to join Ewell and ordered Longstreet also to cross into the valley. Thence the whole Confederate force was pushed across the Potomac, arriving at Chambersburg and Carlisle in Pennsylvania, on the 27th of June.

Stuart, with the cavalry, had been ordered to observe the enemy, but, after his habit, Lee had left much to the discretion of the cavalry leader, and, acting under one of his dramatic impulses, Stuart made a spectacular raid around Washington. He left Lee, in the mean-

time, without that information as to the movements of the Union army, which he sorely needed as a guide to his own operations. The result was that while his army was stretched out in a long and partially disjointed column, the unsupported head of it stumbled upon the advance of the Army of the Potomac, now under Meade, at Gettysburg, where Lee, in the absence of his cavalry, had not expected to find any force more formidable than a division or so of mounted men. An attempted reconnoissance quickly brought on a general engagement. Thus, reversing the usual practice of war, the assailing, instead of the defending, army was taken by surprise. Lee hurried his widely separated forces forward as rapidly as possible, but meantime Meade had succeeded in establishing himself with his entire army in a strong position. For three days, July 1st, 2d, and 3d, there raged the most hotly contested and bloodiest battle of modern times. At the end of that time both armies were badly crippled, and after passing a day of inactivity on the field, Lee retired to Virginia almost unmolested in his retreat. Thus his second invasion of the North was brought to naught, as the first had been, by a battle technically undecisive. In this case, as in the Antietam campaign, however, the moral advantage rested with the Northern arms. Lee had not been defeated in action, but he had been balked of his purpose. His army was not broken or overthrown, but it had completely failed to accomplish the objects for which it had crossed the Potomac.

The opposing armies returned to the line of the Rapidan, and although it was scarcely past mid-summer when they sat down to face each other there, neither commander ventured upon a further campaign during that year.

In the spring of 1864 General Grant was made commander of all the national armies. He conceived a new plan for prosecuting the war to a successful end. He saw clearly that the vitality of Southern resistance lay in the fighting strength of the Southern armies rather than in the possession of cities or strategic positions. The Confederate strength was much broken in the west and the material resources of the cotton States were practically exhausted. But Lee remained with the Army of Northern Virginia at his back, and Grant clearly understood that there could be no successful issue of the war until this force should be crushed. As he himself expressed it, he determined to make Lee's army, rather than Richmond, the sole "objective" of the campaign, not only in Virginia but in all quarters of the South. He ordered Sherman to operate against Johnston at Atlanta, and directed other commanders in other parts of the South to maintain ceaseless activity as a means of preventing Lee's reinforcement. Then placing himself at the head of the Army of the Potomac, he began the task he had set himself, of crushing the power of Lee. Instead of seeking an easy approach to Richmond, he sought the shortest road to Lee's army. Crossing the Rapidan on the 4th of May, with about 120,000 men, he marched into the Wilderness where

Lee with 66,000 effective men promptly assailed him. After a severe struggle there, Grant moved by his left flank to the neighborhood of Spottsylvania Court House, where Lee, moving on a parallel line, confronted him again in another prolonged and stubbornly contested battle. Grant continued his plan of moving by the left flank, and at Cold Harbor he again found Lee strongly posted behind improvised earthworks. Here Grant made a desperate assault, which was repelled with terrible slaughter, Lee's loss being inconsiderable. Resuming his flank march, Grant sat down before Petersburg about the middle of June and began a siege of that city which was plainly the master-key to Richmond. From that time until April, 1865, the struggle of the giants was continued night and day without ceasing. By continually extending his line to the left and pushing it forward, Grant compelled Lee to stretch his army out to attenuation, and at last the Union forces crossed the Weldon Railroad leading from Petersburg, south.

The time had now come when military prudence prompted Lee to abandon Petersburg and Richmond, and by retreating toward the southwest, to form a junction with Johnston, who had been driven out of Atlanta and was now being driven slowly northward by Sherman's advance from Savannah through the Carolinas. But Lee was not permitted to act in this matter as his judgment dictated. The authorities at Richmond obstinately insisted upon holding that city and Petersburg. Thus Lee had no choice but to remain in his

works, fighting desperately, and awaiting the inevitable end with that unfaltering patience which was always a dominant trait of his character.

At the beginning of April, 1865, the end came. Grant broke through Lee's right wing, south of Petersburg, compelling the hasty evacuation of that city and Richmond, and rendering futile in advance any attempt that Lee might make to retreat. For at every step Grant's cavalry were in front of the Confederates while his infantry and artillery ceaselessly operated upon his left flank, pressing him back toward the upper James River, a direction which afforded him no road of escape. On the 9th of April, at Appomattox Court House, Lee surrendered what remained of his famous army, and the war was in effect ended.

Without a murmur or any attempt to shift the blame of failure, though that task offered tempting opportunities, Lee retired to private life, earnestly setting his face against all attempts to continue the struggle by irregular war, and urgently advising the men who had so unfalteringly followed him in war, to betake themselves at once to the pursuits of peace.

At the beginning of the war, Lee had been well-to-do. Its end found him impoverished, and, of course, without hope of employment in his profession thereafter.

He accepted the presidency of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), and occupied himself with the teaching and training of young men until his death, on the 12th of October, 1870.

He was, without question, the greatest soldier that the Southern cause produced, and his exalted personal character is held in the highest esteem at the North, while among the people of the South his memory is cherished with passionate affection and reverence.

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT was the first man who ever held the rank of Admiral in the United States Navy. He was also the last survivor of that "old school" of naval officers who, as he once described them, "entered the navy through a port hole instead of a cabin door,"—officers who, beginning sea service in childhood, made themselves masters of seamanship first, and added scholarly attainments afterward, when opportunity offered. He entered the navy when only a little over nine years of age, distinguished himself at twelve as a capable navigator and resolute commander, and died Admiral, after sixty years of devoted and distinguished service. In the meantime, by his courage, his masterful skill, and his almost matchless determination he had added more to the glory of the American sea service than any other one man ever did before or after him.

He was the son of an old revolutionary patriot and soldier, who had settled as a pioneer in Tennessee. When Farragut was born, on July 5, 1801, the Tennessee country was still the haunt of hostile Indians. His



David Glasgow Farragut

From a steel engraving



father labored diligently to inspire the boy with courage and that unflinching devotion to duty which distinguished every act of his arduous life, but beyond this instruction in manliness the lad was without education. He was orphaned when, at the age of eight years, he was adopted by Commodore Porter—the great Commodore of that name—who promised him a career.

The untrained backwoods boy was taken by sea to Washington, and put into a school; but scant time was allowed him in which to acquire even the slenderest rudiments of education; for when he was only nine and a half years of age he received his warrant as a midshipman, and began the active work of his life. He presently went to sea in the *Essex*, Porter's flag-ship, and was trained in seamanship during the summer, and sent to school whenever opportunity offered in the winter.

Presently the war with Great Britain came, and young Farragut went with Porter on his successive cruises, winning special approbation by his sagacity and alertness. Soon Porter sailed into the Pacific to make that matchless cruise against British commerce which marked him at once as the foremost officer of the navy. He captured so many rich prizes that presently he found himself without an available officer to whom to entrust a captured ship that must be navigated to Valparaiso, fifteen hundred miles away. In this stress of circumstance he determined to put his midshipman Farragut—a lad only twelve years of age—in command of the ship, with instructions that her

prisoner captain should serve the boy as navigating officer. It was a stupendous responsibility to place upon a boy still scarcely more than a child, but young Farragut had shown such capacity of command that Porter accepted the risk, and placed the little midshipman on the quarter deck, with instructions to sail the ship to Valparaiso and there enter her as a prize. Surely such a task had never before been committed to so young a person, and the compliment implied was without precedent. But Farragut was worthy of the trust reposed in him. His masterful spirit and his alertness of mind, rose to the opportunity of distinction thus thrust upon him. The captured captain resented his subjection to a boy's command, of course, and refusing to obey orders, went below for his pistols. Thereupon Farragut himself assumed all responsibility, undertook to navigate the ship himself, and ordered the captain to remain below under penalty of being shot should he attempt to make his appearance on deck. Having thus made the captain a close prisoner, the boy took complete control of the ship and sailed her, unaided, into the prize port.

Remarkable as his seamanship was proved by this exploit to be, it was a matter of small consequence in comparison with his demonstrated resolution, readiness, and sound judgment in dealing with the human difficulty of a mutinous navigating officer possessed of every advantage in the contest of wits and courage. From the hour in which he sailed into Valparaiso, the navy recognized this lad as one destined to achieve the

highest things and win the highest honors. Only a hostile shot could mar the career that lay so plainly before the wonderful boy.

Two years later Farragut saw his first severe sea battle, that in which Porter, in the *Essex*, fought two English war-ships, in one of the bloodiest and most severely contested struggles of the entire war. In this as in the less dangerous service which he had before known, the youth acquitted himself with distinction. He was now recognized not only as a person of unusual readiness of mind and devotion to duty, but as a competent navigator and a fighter of high courage and exceeding self-possession. But he still lacked the technical training of the schools, and when the war ended his mentor, Commodore Porter, sent him to Chester, Pennsylvania, for instruction in book lore and for systematic training in the school of the soldier. There was no Annapolis Naval Academy at that time.

The war with Algiers having broken out, Farragut was again taken from his books in 1815 and sent on service to the Mediterranean. In 1817–18 Farragut lived in the consulate at Tunis, in order to perfect himself in his knowledge of the French and Italian languages, and to learn somewhat of mathematics, commercial affairs, international law, and whatever else it might become a rising young naval officer to know. Incidentally, also, he attended grand balls and learned something of the manners of polite society, with which he had not before been brought into contact, but in which his unvarying courtesy and kindliness quickly

commended him, especially to queenly women who took pains to cultivate him out of his inexperienced awkwardness of demeanor, and to convert his embarrassed self-consciousness into an easy self-confidence. Thus, little by little, and in fragmentary, haphazard ways, did Farragut acquire that education which in the end made him the most accomplished as well as the greatest of American naval commanders.

So marked were his gifts at this time that the consul at Tripoli, in a prophetic letter, spoke of him as "the young admiral" a prediction which seemed then impossible of fulfilment as the rank of admiral was not only unknown in our naval service, but was deemed too aristocratic ever to be created by a vote of Congress. Yet it was reserved to Farragut to render such service to his country as to compel the creation of that supreme rank as the only and still insufficient recognition of his deeds in the country's behalf.

From this early period until 1846–47 was a time of peace. Farragut's service during that part of his life embraced many voyages, much study, afloat and ashore, and an eager effort at every point to improve himself. In regular course he rose to the rank of commander, and when the war with Mexico came he sought and obtained a commission of active service. But, as he believed and asserted in letters to the Navy Department, he "encountered the ill will of his commodore." At any rate he was denied all opportunities of fruitful service, and after a time, at his own request, was ordered home.

In 1854 Farragut asked to be sent to the Crimea, for purposes of observation, but was denied the commission. He had long been in bad odor among the civilians who, strangely enough, have always dominated that purely military department to its sore detriment. He was sent to the Pacific coast instead, to select, fortify, and equip a naval station. Mare Island was the satisfactory result of his labors during the next four years.

The Civil War brought perplexity to Farragut, as it did to other officers of the army and navy who were men of Southern birth. It presented a problem of divided allegiance. Farragut solved it, not as Lee did by going with his State, but as George H. Thomas and Winfield Scott did by adhering to the Union. He unhesitatingly declared that if peaceable secession should be accomplished, as many persons North and South then believed might happen, he would resign from the national service and go with the South in which he had been born, and in which all his kinships, whether by birth or marriage lay. But if the disruption should involve war, he understood it to be his imperative duty to sacrifice all other ties and bear true allegiance to the National Government which had given him his education, and all his life long had provided him with employment which it had rewarded with honor and promotion. He was living at Norfolk on waiting orders, during the trying winter of 1860–61. He strongly sympathized with the efforts made to keep Virginia out of the secession movement and for many

months had reason to believe that these efforts would be successful to the end. But when, in April, 1861, Virginia was—in his phrase—"dragooned out of the Union," he went North to await the call of duty.

It was not until the end of 1861 that the call of duty came. Then he was placed in command of an expedition designed to reduce New Orleans and reopen the Mississippi to navigation. At the beginning of February, 1862, he sailed from Hampton Roads in command of a fleet in whose efficiency he had not the smallest confidence. His flag-ship was the *Hartford*, destined, under his command, to become one of the great historic vessels of the navy—a fit companion of the *Constitution* and the *Constellation*.

His orders were peculiar. His mission was to "reduce the defences" of New Orleans and possess himself of that city. As if doubting his devotion or his skill or his determination or something else, the department instructed him, almost menacingly, to achieve success and offer no excuses for failure. "As you have expressed yourself," the orders ran, "perfectly satisfied with the force given to you, and as many more powerful vessels will be added before you can commence operations, the department and the country *require of you success.*"

Farragut neither resented the extraordinary tone of his orders nor shrank from the task they set him, with an insulting intimation that failure to accomplish that very difficult duty to the satisfaction of the ill-informed civilians of the Navy Department would mean discredit

and bring rebuke upon him as its consequence. He knew, as they did not, the insufficiency of his means. He knew, as they did not and could not, the difficulty of getting his ships over shallow bars and through narrow passes into the Mississippi. He knew, as they did not, the extraordinary character of the defences that the Confederates had established below New Orleans, defences that must still confront him as almost insuperable obstacles after he should get such of his ships as he could over the bars and through the passes. In short, he knew how desperate was the enterprise set for his accomplishment, and how calumniously he would be criticised by official authority should he in any degree fail to meet the extravagant expectations of ignorant over-confidence.

A lesser man than he, a man less sincerely devoted to patriotic purposes, a man of smaller moral courage, a man less capable of heroic self-sacrifice, would have refused the commission, or at the least, would have accepted it under strenuous protest. Farragut set to work instead to do all that skill and courage and heroic determination could do to fulfil the mission entrusted to his hands. He collected all the ships that were available for the purpose—many of them utterly unfit for such a service and not one of them such as it would now be deemed proper to employ in an enterprise so difficult. He took with him an army under Butler, with which to occupy New Orleans when it should surrender. But for his own purposes that army was of no use. It could not be employed in the reduction of the

river defences, or be brought into any use whatever until the work of his campaign should be fully done. In the meantime its presence was a clog upon his movements, its care a heavy burden to him.

Thus equipped Farragut sailed for the mouths of the Mississippi early in February. It was not until the middle of April that he succeeded in dragging his ships over mud bars into the river. One of them—among the most efficient—he could not force past the bars at all.

Once in the river, this was his situation. He had sixteen wooden sloops of war; sixteen wooden gunboats; twenty-one frail wooden schooners, each carrying only one mortar, the efficiency of which was gravely doubtful; and five other vessels of varying character. He had a little over 200 guns in all, big and little, effective and of very doubtful efficiency.

Opposed to him were the defensive works of the Confederates, the fruit of long months of exertion and of the most masterful engineering skill. At a point where the river narrowed to half a mile and made a sharp bend in its course, there stood two strong, and heavily armed fortresses commanding every inch of the river above and below, and able to deliver a concentrated fire of many tons per second upon any approaching enemy. The two forts were armed with about 115 guns, mostly thirty-two pounders — a weapon deemed capable of instantly sinking any wooden ship against which its missiles might be directed. Well below these forts there were two iron chains stretched across the

stream guarded by sharp-shooters and supported by vessels anchored there for the purpose. Above lay a Confederate fleet of fifteen sail, including an iron-protected floating battery, heavily armed and an iron-clad, steam-propelled ram, capable of instantly sinking any craft with which her steel-shod prow might come into contact.

In spite of all Farragut advanced to the attack after a six days' bombardment with the mortars, which had not proved as effective as the Navy Department had anticipated, but as Farragut, with his larger knowledge and greater skill had not. He wearied at last of this ineffectual fire, and of the constant difficulty he had in warding off Confederate fire-rafts, and protecting his own vessels against collisions in the narrow confines of the river. He therefore gave orders for a determined attack. First of all he cut the chains that obstructed the passage. Next he "fortified" his ships, as it were, by adroitly disposing of their coal and their chain cables in such fashion as should best protect their boilers and machinery. Then he ordered a general advance which was begun before daylight on the morning of April 24, 1862.

Under a "fire of Hell" his fleet forced its way past the forts — all but three vessels which were disabled in the attempt. Then came "the River Fight," as a poet has named it, with the Confederate fleet. It was a brief but very bloody action, in which deeds were done on both sides that might well claim place in those pages which history specially reserves for the recording of the

most heroic of human achievements — those pages to which poets turn for inspiration when minded to sing their most sonorous songs.

When the Confederate fleet was destroyed there remained the defences immediately below the city to be overcome. Against these Farragut hurled all his force, and on the morning of April 25th, he anchored in front of the now defenceless city of New Orleans, the city in which as a child he had been adopted into the navy and set into the way of that great career which thus culminated in astounding glory where it had begun in feeble, boyish hope.

Farragut desired to go on with his work in a sensible way. He asked permission to sail at once to Mobile, and reduce that city's defences as he had reduced those of New Orleans. His idea was identical with that which inspired Grant's campaign of 1864 — namely, that the only way to bring the war to a speedy end was to break the power of Confederate resistance at those points where that power afforded the greatest strength to the Confederate cause. There were blockade runners making trips with almost packet-like regularity into and out of every Confederate port south of Albemarle Sound. The South was marketing its cotton and buying its supplies in the Bahamas and the West Indies, and obviously no blockading fleet, however strong, could put an end to a traffic from which Southern resistance largely drew its material resources. In order to stop that traffic and make the blockade effective as a means of cutting off the South at once

from its market and its source of supplies, Farragut desired to reduce every Confederate port to national control as he had done with New Orleans. Without doubt his policy was the wisest, the most humane, and altogether the best that could then inspire and direct naval enterprise. It would have shortened the war by a year at the least, and it would have saved lives by scores of thousands and treasure by hundreds of millions. But the time was not yet ripe for such wise direction of the war as Grant was to give it in 1864. The civilians in control of the bureaus at Washington had more dramatic effects in mind, and in aid of these they compelled Farragut to waste time and strength and precious lives in a fruitless running of batteries at Vicksburg and Port Hudson where, as was obvious to his educated mind, the breaking of Confederate resistance could be accomplished only by the land operations under Grant — operations that neither needed nor could profit by the perilous exposure of the navy at a time when it might have been more advantageously employed in the reduction of Confederate ports.

After the opening of the Mississippi, there came a period of inaction to Farragut. The Navy Department was not yet ready to grasp his ideas and permit him to carry them into execution. At last, in the summer of 1864, more than two years after he had proposed the expedition, he was permitted to assail Mobile. With a fleet consisting in part of wooden vessels and in part of ironclads, commanded from the bridge of his flag-ship

Hartford, he undertook the reduction of the Mobile defences and the closing of the sole remaining Gulf port of consequence.

The assault was begun early in the morning of August 5, 1864. The port was defended by strongly armed forts, by a formidable fleet, and by a torpedo-strewn harbor. Into these "jaws of death" Farragut pushed his way. One of his ironclads ran foul of a torpedo, was blown up and sank to the bottom. Presently the *Brooklyn*, which preceded the flag-ship, stopped her engines. Farragut shouted inquiries as to the cause. The answer was that torpedoes lay just ahead. Then it was that Farragut gave his celebrated order — "Go on. Damn the torpedoes." Instantly he pushed his flag-ship past the *Brooklyn* and himself took the perilous lead.

Inside the bay Farragut was vigorously assailed by the Confederate fleet, whose officers and men manifested a determination as strong and a courage as reckless as his own. But the fire of his ironclads and the activity of his other vessels were presently crowned with victory, and about nightfall his perilous task was done. The forts, cut off from their communications, surrendered a few days later, and the harbor of Mobile was completely within control of the Federal authorities. The city itself was inaccessible by reason of shoal water, but the purposes of the expedition were accomplished to the full. The cost in life and in ships was very great — much greater than the damage inflicted upon the Confederates. But the victory was

well worth all the sacrifice that had been exacted as the price of it.

This "Bay Fight" was the crowning achievement of Farragut's life and the last battle in which he ever engaged. In failing health he returned to the North, where every honor that ingenious popular gratitude could devise was heaped upon him. Congress had already revived the rank of Rear-Admiral for his reward and the President had conferred it upon him. Later Congress created the still more exalted rank of Admiral, previously unknown in the American Navy, and he was made supreme commander of our sea forces, with that "sea lord" rank which knows no superior in the naval service of any nation. A few years of peaceful and enjoyable life were left to him as the rich reward of a lifetime of strenuous and most heroic service. On the 14th of August, 1870, he was gathered to his fathers.

THE MEN OF LETTERS

WASHINGTON IRVING

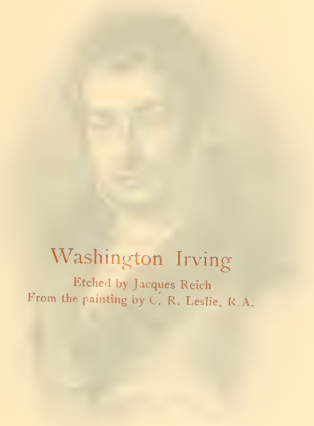
WASHINGTON IRVING had long passed the psalmist's life limit of three score years and ten when he died in 1859. All the work for which he is held in loving remembrance was done during the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet there is to-day in a new century no figure fresher in our literary annals, no American writer who in this dawn of the twentieth century holds a larger or securer place than he does in the admiration and the affection of those who read books to find in them a reflection of human nature.

In several respects Irving's position in literature is unique. He was the first of American creative writers in point of time, as he was and still remains foremost in achievement. Brockden Brown did indeed precede Irving, but during his brief career he struck no distinctively American note, and his works are to-day forgotten except that here and there a scholar turns over their yellowed pages with archaic interest concerning aspirations born before their time. It was Irving who first put aside the copy books of English literature and

ventured to write in a hand that was all his own. It was he who first discovered the literary possibilities of American life and history, and who turned them to largest account as the materials of original, creative work. In advance of all others he wrought the dust of our annals into plastic clay, fashioned from it creatures of his own imagining and breathed into their nostrils the breath of life.

He, first among Americans, created enduring human types, or, more properly, human individuals, so perfectly fashioned and so vital that they must always seem to men of sense as actual as the personages of history. If this be, as critics have always taught, the ultimate test of creative genius in literature, then we may without offence use the superlative and call Irving the very greatest of American men of letters, so long at least as Rip Van Winkle and Ichabod Crane survive in the memory of men, and so long as the proper name Knickerbocker endures as an accepted adjective of the English language.

If this were all, Hawthorne at least might dispute with Irving the first place in our literature. But it is not all. Irving's achievements were by no means confined to a local or even an American field. Much of his best work was devoted to quite other than American subjects. We are indebted to him for the best and fairest and most winning interpretations of English life that are accessible to us. To him we owe, more than to any other writer, our capacity to appreciate the romance of old Spain, and it was from him that we



Washington Irving

Etched by Jacques Reich
From the painting by C. R. Leslie, R.A.



learned practically all that, as a people, we know of Mahomet and the Moors and the wars that rescued Europe from the grasp of the Saracens. It was he who first read the riddle of Columbus's life and character, and made alive to our comprehension the times in which the discoverer lived, and the conditions under which his work for the world was done.

If Irving had done nothing except revivify the old Dutch life of New York, as he did, his rank in American letters would have been among the foremost of our creative writers. If he had never done that work at all, but had given us only his pictures of English life, his prose poems of old Spain, and his *Columbus* and *Mahomet*, he would still have been ranked among our best.

His grasp was vastly greater than Hawthorne's and his human sympathies immeasurably more catholic and comprehensive. He was less subtle and more human; less mystical and more wholesome; less introspective and more healthfully observant.

He was a man of the world. He loved association with his fellow-men, and sought it all his life with an eager and natural interest in every manifestation of human character. He looked upon human conduct with an amused mind, but always with understanding and full sympathy. He was not only in the world, but of it. He shared its impulses and its points of view. His habit of mind was to look "out and not in, up and not down," and to be illimitably tolerant of folly and frailty, as one who felt himself easily capable of both.

He himself used to tell with delight how he once joined forces with a predatory urchin and spent a delightful afternoon in helping the young freebooter steal his own apples from the orchard at Sunnyside. His intensely human instincts were illustrated in many ways. He loved life in Spain for the sake of its grace and dignity of bearing, but still more because of the black-eyed beauties who charmed him in that country by their winsome coquetry. His most intimate friend, the late Mr. George P. Putnam, used to relate how on one occasion he discovered a very lovable human weakness in Irving. Looking over his friend's library, Mr. Putnam found it sadly overloaded with "trash," and with Irving's permission he undertook to purge it. But when he had sorted out the worthless books, Irving came to their rescue with a plaintive plea for them as old and loved friends. This book might be the veriest trash—probably it was so—but Irving remembered how it had solaced his loneliness once at a country inn, and could not think of parting with it. Another was nonsense, of course, but it reminded Irving of the delightful days at sea, when he had idly turned its pages the while he sat at the masthead, and the sailors below whistled for a wind. And so throughout the list. Irving found in each worthless volume some association that made it precious to him. Mr. Putnam might send all his collection of worthy and respectable books to the auction-room, if he liked, but these dear old trashy and altogether worthless friends of his wandering life he would not part with on any account. The

incident illustrates a characteristic of Irving which went far to give to his writings their winsomeness, their extraordinary capacity to enlist the affectionate sympathy of the reader—his capacity, to wit, to appreciate the lovable in the unimportant.

In this characteristic we discover the chief charm of all of Irving's writings. He always wrote with a sympathy that awakened sympathy. He took his reader by the arm, as it were, and told him his stories in full confidence that his reader would enjoy hearing them, as in truth the reader always did and still does.

It was a very notable achievement for Irving to accomplish this. He wrote at a time when youths were taught that if they would write well they must give their days and nights to Addison ; a time when dignity of literary style was more highly regarded than interest of subject or of treatment in literature ; when the rounding of a period was deemed of greater consequence than the provoking of the reader to smiles or tears. The fatal facility of literary stilt-walking still appealed strongly to men who ventured into print in the early part of the nineteenth century, and Irving's success in avoiding that temptation to stumbling was by no means the least notable of his achievements, or the least conclusive proof we have of the spontaneity of his genius.

Irving used, laughingly, to boast that he was the only man of his time who had been born in New York City. "All the rest," he said, "came early and remained." The boast was not quite true, but at least it reflected Irving's intense feeling of loyalty to his native

city — a feeling that endured through all his long wanderings abroad and was never in the least weakened by the delight he took in life in older lands.

He was born in a house in William Street, between Fulton and John, on April 3, 1783. His father was a seafaring man who had settled himself in a mercantile business in New York. This father was fairly well to do, highly respectable, a rigid disciplinarian in his own family, a stern religionist, and during the American Revolution an uncompromising patriot, a fact which echoed itself in the name bestowed upon the son whose unimagined fame was destined to make his own personality remembered.

The mother of Washington Irving seems to have been a woman of rare good sense and of a gentle, loving disposition. Without doubt her influence was more potent than the father's stern uprightness in forming the character of the boy.

It is an interesting fact that the elder Irving was careful to give his two elder and quite unimportant sons a college education, and that Washington, the only member of the family who was possessed of high intellectual gifts, was left with scarcely any education at all. He rather irregularly attended such schools as there were in the neighborhood, acquired little of what their masters could teach, and at the age of sixteen quitted school finally. He entered, nominally at least, upon the study of law in the office of an attorney, but gave small attention to his text-books. He preferred more interesting literature than the law of inheritance or the authorities

on reversions and remainders could furnish, and accordingly he read all the books of a literary character that fell in his way. At this time, too, he manifested his inclination to literary pursuits by contributing light articles of his own to the newspapers of the day. His health was not strong, — indeed he manifested symptoms of pulmonary trouble which aroused a good deal of anxiety on the part of his family, and in 1804 he was sent to Europe for his health. During the next two years he enjoyed to the full the delights of society, the theatre, and bohemia generally, on the continent and in England. On his return he projected his first literary venture, *Salmagundi,* which he conducted in conjunction with his brother William and James K. Paulding.

It was at this period of his life that sorrow for the first time fell heavily upon his sensitive nature. His betrothed, a daughter of Judge Hoffman, was a young woman, by all accounts, of extraordinary charm, and Irving's love for her was extreme. When she fell ill and at last died with her lover by her bedside, a shadow fell upon Irving's soul which was never completely lifted while he lived. He did not grow morbid, indeed,—his mind was too soundly healthful for that. He preserved his interest in life, and after a time all his old relish for human association returned, with its abounding sympathy, its keen capacity for enjoyment, and its gentle, humorous tolerance of faults and foibles. But, with all his strongly domestic instincts and with his unusual opportunities in the choice of a wife, he never married.

Nevertheless in his bachelorhood there was no touch of woman-hating, no slightest abatement of the reverence and chivalric tenderness with which he regarded womankind. His spirit was deeply wounded by the blow that fate had dealt him, but it was not soured or otherwise perverted. Sorrow seems, indeed, rather to have sweetened and ennobled his character, fitting him in peculiar fashion for the best doing of the work that lay before him in life. If this point seems too much dwelt upon in this place, it is because of its importance as a factor in the career that we are studying. Creative literature must of necessity be largely a reflection, a revelation of the man who writes it, and the sorrow that touched Irving's humor with a gentle melancholy, in a large degree determined the quality of his work. He himself wrote long afterwards: "The despondency I had suffered for a long time in the course of this attachment, and the anguish that attended its catastrophe, seemed to give a turn to my whole character, and throw some clouds into my disposition which have ever since hung about it." Fortunately the "clouds" were not angry, storm-threatening ones; rather they were such as the sun irradiates, their gloom only emphasizing the golden glory of the sunshine that falls upon them.

Irving was at that time engaged upon his most purely humorous work, Knickerbocker's *History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the end of the Dutch Dynasty*. According to his own account his sorrow gave him some distaste for its rollicking humor, but if that sorrow enlarged his sympathies and refined

his feeling it added much of tenderness and grace even to a work then already wrought out in his mind. How much it contributed to the intensely human qualities of his later writings, who shall say?

The Knickerbocker History was Irving's first successful work. He had written, in a letter to a friend, of that anticipated time when, "you and I shall get this great, stupid public by the ears," and the *History of New York* fully accomplished that cherished purpose. Its success was phenomenal for that time. It earned for Irving the sum of $3000 — the amount which the successful author of to-day would receive from the sale of 20,000 copies of a book published at $1.50 a copy. Better still, it made its author famous, both in this country and abroad. This was the more remarkable inasmuch as the book was the very first distinctively American work in creative literature that attracted attention in England, or deserved attention, for that matter.

But even the remarkable success of this his first work, did not prompt Irving to make deliberate choice of literature as a profession. Perhaps it was in part because there was at that time no such thing as a profession of literature in America. But a larger reason seems to have been the fact that Irving was by temperament averse to the systematic following of any profession. Years afterwards, in England, when financial distress had fallen upon him, Walter Scott came forward with an offer to make him editor of a new magazine which he, Scott, wished to found; but Irving, in spite of his pecuniary need, declined the generous

offer, pleading in excuse his constitutional inability to engage systematically in any employment. How much more strongly must this temperamental difficulty have influenced him about the year 1810, when he found himself a partner of his brothers in a lucrative business which gave him a sufficient income without severely taxing his energies or exacting much of his attention.

He detested the law, and was clearly unfit for its practice. He was exceedingly fond of society and even of dissipation of a certain not very scandalous sort. He had money enough to indulge these tastes and literary reputation enough to make him something of a lion in all drawing-rooms. So instead of following up the Knickerbocker success he entered upon a career of social enjoyment enlivened by a certain rather idle dalliance with the muses. That is to say, he nominally edited a magazine and did some desultory writing which added nothing to his reputation.

This lasted until 1815, when Irving went again to England, where the firm, of which he was a member, had a house. About the time of his arrival there the firm fell into financial difficulties, and his brother, who had managed it, fell ill. As a consequence, Irving was compelled to devote himself, for the next three years, to business affairs for which he had no liking and not much fitness. But the fame of his Knickerbocker was still fresh in Great Britain, and during these years it brought him into intimate friendship with Sir Walter Scott, the elder Disraeli, and many others of those best worth knowing in literature and art.

In 1818 his firm failed, and Irving was thrown upon his own resources. A government employment was offered him from Washington, but it was declined. For Irving had at last chosen the literary life as his own. In 1819 he brought out in America the first number of *The Sketch Book*. It contained the immortal romance of "Rip Van Winkle," and achieved instant success. Other numbers followed and sustained the popularity of the work. Irving had not thought of *The Sketch Book* as a work that could appeal to English favor, and had therefore made no arrangement for an English edition. But the pirates were keener than he to scent popularity, and presently they came forward with a fragmentary London edition. On this hint Irving acted, and in 1820 John Murray brought out an authorized edition of the book. Its success was immediate and phenomenal. All over England the book was greeted with enthusiasm.

At that time Irving might well have said, with Byron, "I woke up one morning and found myself famous."

Other works followed, as a matter of course. *Bracebridge Hall,* in 1822, and *Tales of a Traveller*, in 1824. For the three books Murray paid the author no less than $15,525, the payments increasing with each work published.

In 1826, Irving began those Spanish studies which later bore so rich a fruitage. In that year he went to Madrid as an attaché of the American Legation. There he plunged into the archives as a boy dives into

a temptingly limpid stream, and at the end of two years he published his fascinating *Life of Columbus* in London and New York. Again increased appreciation brought him greater gains, this work yielding him the sum of $18,000 — or nearly as much as all his earlier works together had brought to him. It gave him a new and enlarged recognition, also, as a historian, a man of diligent research and accurate scholarship, a man to be taken seriously in the domain of letters, and his later work profited mightily by this reputation, conjoined as it was with an equal fame for extraordinary lucidity, simplicity, and picturesqueness of literary style. The *Conquest of Granada* which followed, in 1829, and the *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832) were additional products of his residence in Spain, where fact fed his fancy and history furnished a fit background for his splendid imaginings. The subjects enlisted all his sympathies, and their treatment gave opportunity for the exercise of all his extraordinary graces of style and literary presentation.

In 1829 Irving was made secretary of legation to the American Ministry at London, and during the next three years he enriched his acquaintance with British life and letters in notable ways — meantime not neglecting to enjoy to their full the delights of that high social life which he so greatly loved. He produced no literary work of consequence during this period, but the work already done was recognized by a medal from the Royal Society of Literature, and by an honorary degree from the University of Oxford.

After an absence of seventeen years, Irving returned to New York in 1832, a better American than ever, his patriotism and his pride of country stimulated not only by his broadened comprehension of what the land discovered by Columbus was destined to be in human history, but by every comparison he had made between the older civilization and the new. On his return he found his country greatly changed; but all the changes were for the better; all of them had been made along those lines of progress which his shrewd intelligence saw to be the natural lines of American growth.

With intent to settle himself in a worthy home-life he bought the place Sunnyside, and gathered those dearest to him there, his brother and his nieces filling the place in his heart and home which his early bereavement had left vacant. His literary work during the next five years was comparatively unimportant. He chronicled a tour on the prairies, and wrote of Astoria with appreciation, but without making any strong appeal to his readers. Much the same was true of his *Adventures of Captain Bonneville,* which appeared in 1837. Nothing that he ever wrote was deficient in charm, but these works were trifles as compared with those that had gone before, and they added nothing to his reputation. Yet what schoolboy is there who has not read with unmeasured delight the story of the bee tree in the *Crayon Miscellanies?* And how enchanting must that work be to the generations which did not have birth till after the prairies, with their wierd vastness and mystery, were converted into

commonplace farms, or vulgarized by steam gang ploughs and improved threshing machines!

And then, too, Irving was going back to his old literary love in his magazine work during these years with *Wolfert's Roost* (1854) as a long delayed but delightful result.

In 1842 Irving was sent back to Spain, this time as the American Minister. He went with much reluctance and some anticipations of enjoyment—reluctance to leave the delightful home-life he had created for himself at Sunnyside, and eager anticipations of joy in a renewal of the studies that had so fascinated him in the archives of the ancient kingdom. He pleasantly looked forward, too, to the renewal of old friendships, and to an agreeable revival of his interest in the picturesque life and character of the Spanish people.

He remained in Spain for four years, so occupied with the official and social duties of his diplomatic post that he did no literary work of consequence. He seems, indeed, to have begun to feel old, and to regard his work as done and himself as entitled to rest. He had still one important and long contemplated task to accomplish — the Life of Washington. But he did no work on it in Madrid, and on his return to Sunnyside in 1846 was disposed, not to relinquish the purpose, but to postpone it to some Spanish "to-morrow."

Yet during his second residence in Spain Irving had prepared himself for one piece of work which readers would not willingly have missed. He made those studies which resulted in *Mahomet and his Succes-*

sors—a work which was a delightful revelation of a fascinating history when it first appeared in 1849–50, and which remains to this day the very best interpretation that literature anywhere furnishes of the spirit and purpose and achievements of the prophet and of those who carried forward his work after him.

At the time of Irving's return to America his works seemed to have had their day. They were mostly out of print and they held in men's minds the place of things that had been, rather than of things that were. It was then that Mr. George P. Putnam rendered the most inestimable of his great services, not only to Irving's fame, but to American literature as well. With his large-minded liberality as a publisher, and with his unusually generous literary culture, he was unwilling that Irving's writings should sink into neglect and forgetfulness. Exercising the privilege of intimate personal friendship, he persuaded Irving to undertake a thorough revision of his works, and when that was done he brought them anew before the public at his own financial risk, in a collected edition, which met with a popular acceptance scarcely less marked than that which the fascinating books had separately won upon their first appearance. In a word, Mr. Putnam did much to make Irving the foremost of American classic authors, where before he had been only a popular writer of his time. The *The Life of Goldsmith* and the *Mahomet* were added at that time to the list of Irving's works.

The years that followed were not productive. Irving toiled from time to time over the long-postponed *Life*

of Washington, but he was now too old and too world-weary to put into it the kind of genius that had so greatly fascinated men in his earlier books. When at last, in the closing year of his life, he put forth the final volume of this Life, it was felt to be a careful, conscientious, and admirably accurate work; but it sadly lacked the verve, the enthusiasm, and the sympathetic appreciation of its subject which would very certainly have made it a work of lasting, national importance, if by good fortune its author could have written it during the vigor of his manhood.

Except for the abatement of his interest in literary pursuits, and the lessening of his power to put into literary undertakings that which was best in himself, Irving never grew old, in the true sense of those words. He preserved his interest in life to the end. His bubbling humor continued to the last to delight those who were privileged to be his intimates. His sympathy with all that is human suffered no diminution. No arrogance of age, no irritability of mind, no consciousness of his own consequence in human affairs came to mar the gentle sweetness of his temper or the kindly simplicity of his demeanor. When he died the whole country honored and mourned him, but those who most sorely felt his loss as a personal bereavement were the intimates of his household and the humble neighbors round about Sunnyside, every one of whom wept at his grave in sincere sorrow for one whom all the simple folk had learned to think of as a friend.



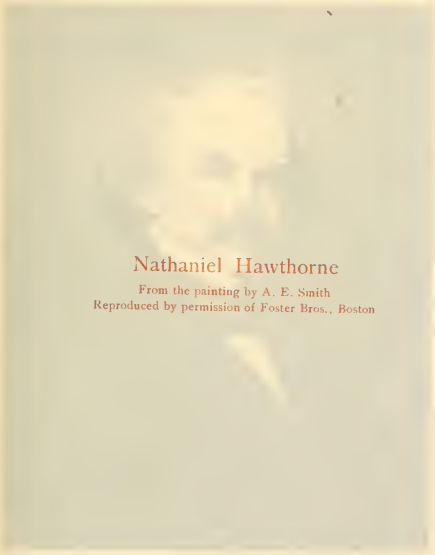
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

THE achievements of Nathaniel Hawthorne as a writer of subtle, psychological fiction must always be a marvel and a mystery. They strangely contradict all accepted theories as to the conditions that are necessary to the novelist's equipment. It is held that in order to depict human character and truthfully reflect human life, the novelist must closely study men and women of varying kinds and in widely differing circumstances. Hawthorne did nothing of the kind. Until after he had written the books upon which his fame securely rests, he scarcely knew men and women at all. His life up to that time had been, indeed, precisely the reverse of that which is supposed to be the necessary apprenticeship of the novelist.

Born in 1804, in the dull and decaying village of Salem, where neither life nor character presented any variety of interest, Hawthorne was from earliest childhood secluded and solitary amid surroundings of the most depressing character. His father died when he was four years old, and his mother at once went into a seclusion more than monastic, from which she never

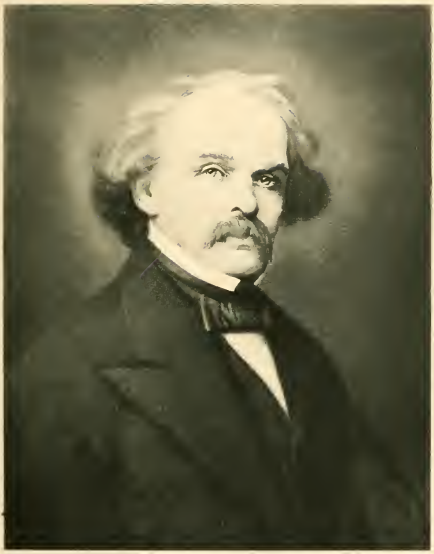
afterwards emerged. The elder of his sisters, too, as she grew up, developed the temper and habits of a recluse, separating herself from all association, even with her brother and sister, so far as that was possible. So strong was her hermit habit that she passed the last thirty years of her life in a lonely farmhouse by the sea, with nobody about her but the farmer's family, who were wholly incapable of companionship with one of her education and tastes. The hermit instinct was a family failing.

Hawthorne himself shared the family tendency to solitary living, and, even as a boy, sought no healthful boyish companionships. When he grew up he lived almost wholly in his chamber, and even after his marriage — which was one of complete sympathy and happiness—it was his custom to pass the greater part of his waking hours in solitude in his study, in the woodlands, and by night in lonely paddlings on the dark face of a little river, but always far away from human companionship, even that of his loving wife. In brief, here was a man who took the utmost pains to see as little as possible of his fellow human beings, men or women, to commune with them as briefly and as infrequently as he might, to see nothing of society, to heed nothing of affairs, to learn nothing of human ways. Yet out of his solitude this man, untutored of experience, unaccustomed to the ways of men, sent forth books that astonished the English-speaking world, and that still astonish it, by the subtle insight that inspires them, by the profound



Nathaniel Hawthorne

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mastery they display of the deepest springs of human conduct, and by the extraordinary truthfulness and convincing character of their interpretation of human motives.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne has very properly and effectively rebuked the foolishness which a while ago prompted certain enthusiasts to compare Hawthorne with Shakespeare. And yet there is one characteristic of genius which Hawthorne undoubtedly shared with Shakespeare — namely, a subtle, instinctive, and unerring insight into the human heart, a marvellous mastery of the impulses of the soul.

All this had its best revelation in *The Scarlet Letter, The House of the Seven Gables,* and *The Blithedale Romance*—works produced while yet their author was hiding himself in solitude, and refusing to mingle among men. Travel and a larger association with his fellows came to him later, but after those opportunities were his he wrote no books comparable with these, no books that revealed so profound an insight, or made so irresistible an appeal for acceptance as revelations of truth. His intuitive perceptions were safer guides to a knowledge of truth than other men's experience, and experience, when it came, added nothing to his power. That is why we may apply to him in all sincerity the much abused word Genius.

Hawthorne was fortunate, too, in the possession of a literary style of peculiar clearness and unusual attractiveness in which to clothe the wonderful creations of his imagination. Even in his earliest writings there is

no affectation, no insincerity, no excess, and no rhetorical false note. The uncompromising honesty of his character, and perhaps also the singular shyness and modesty of his nature protected him always from errors of that kind. It is not difficult to suppose that the extreme simplicity of utterance which adds a special charm of its own to his style, was learned in fairy-land, where, he tells us, he always lived by preference when permitted to do so.

Hawthorne passed his boyhood mainly in the dull, dispiriting atmosphere of Salem, but a year or so of it was spent in the woodlands of Maine, where he found a congenial solitude under the trees or by the margin of a little lake. He was prepared for college under the personal tuition of Dr. Worcester, the author of Worcester's *Dictionary*. At the age of seventeen he entered Bowdoin College, where he won distinction among the students as a writer of college themes, but made no great mark for scholarship.

On leaving college he was without a calling and without prospects. He seems also to have been without much ambition. At any rate he made no marked effort to improve his condition. He sought out no employment, but lapsed again into his life of solitude. For twelve years he lived, as he has himself reported, "in a lonely chamber," which he rarely left except for lonelier twilight rambles by the sea. It was an extremely unhealthy life and one that might well have brought unwholesome literature as its consequence. But it did not. During this time Hawthorne read and

wrote much, but most of what he wrote by day he burned at night. The remainder he published in various periodicals and annuals. As he published anonymously his writings brought him no recognition, and as the pay was always very small and was often withheld entirely, his industry brought him but scanty bread and butter. In 1826—the year after his graduation,—he published his first novel, *Fanshawe*. It met with no success and Hawthorne presently suppressed it. It has been republished since his death. He met with other rebuffs in his efforts to win public attention, and for a time contented himself with publishing small productions in newspapers and magazines of limited circulation. In 1830 he sent some manuscripts to S. G. Goodrich (Peter Parley), who offered him $35 for the privilege of publishing one of them in his annual, which was called the *Token and Atlantic Souvenir*. At the same time Goodrich promised to find a publisher for the book that embraced all of them if possible. As the papers were all anonymous, Goodrich ultimately included four of them in a single volume of the *Token* in 1831. Goodrich also secured for Hawthorne the editorship of *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, at a salary of $500 a year, most of which was never paid. Hawthorne at this time compiled for Goodrich a *Universal History*, for which he received the munificent sum of $100. Think of it! One of the greatest creative writers that America has produced, set to write a Universal History, to be published under another man's pen name,

all for less money than a capable newspaper reporter in our day earns every week, and often by a single article!

The country had not at that time achieved or even declared its intellectual independence of Great Britain. Even had Hawthorne put forth *The Scarlet Letter* then, it is doubtful that any considerable portion of the public would have dared proclaim him a great writer until British criticism should first give them leave. Indeed, the first reception given in this country to *The Scarlet Letter* and its successor, was that of pleased fancy rather than anything higher or better. The reviewers and readers of the books—all but a select few—thought and spoke of Hawthorne rather as a very clever romance writer, with a charming literary style, than as a new-born force in the world of letters. It was not until the sea brought to them news of the impression made in England by his works that Americans generally ventured to recognize Hawthorne's genius for what it was. Irving had had a like experience, for it was only after English criticism had dubbed him knight and awarded him his spurs, that he of Sunnyside succeeded—to borrow his own phrase—in getting "this great stupid public by the ears."

But English approval came to Hawthorne, in some small degree at least, before his great work was begun. As early as 1835 the London *Athenæum* made a text of his stories in the *Token* recognizing both their charm and the promise that was in them. This encouraged him to collect those stories and others, and,

with the pecuniary support of his friend Horatio Bridge, he brought out the first series of *Twice Told Tales.* After a time Goodrich pronounced the book a financial success, in support of which judgment he cited the fact that *about seven hundred copies* had been sold! Here we see in all its glory the inducement which a literary career held out to this penniless genius who was about to get married, and to whom for years yet to come the doubt about the morrow's bread and butter was destined to be the burden of each day's anxiety. We see also why Hawthorne, with all his gifts and all his high imaginings was content in 1839 to accept a post in the Boston custom house as a weigher and gauger of merchandise at a salary of $1200 a year. The facts are anything but creditable to a people who even then prided themselves upon a superior intellectuality and vaunted their culture. Their neglect would have cost us all that Hawthorne is to our literature and our national good name, had the gifted dreamer lived elsewhere than in the fairy-land of his own imaginings, or had he been duly mindful of his own necessities and those of the family that was so soon to be his. As it was, the neglect served only to dispirit him for a time and perhaps to postpone for a little the splendid fruition of his genius.

For in spite of all his discouragements Hawthorne never wavered in his purpose to go on as well as he could with the work that nature had made him to do. He accepted such employment as that in the custom house as affording a temporary means of subsistence,

and never as a stepping-stone to a career other than his chosen one of creative writer. But for his real work he needed always his solitude and his musings, and, therefore, during his two years in the custom house he produced nothing. Fortunately for letters, the Whigs came into power at the end of two years, and dismissed Hawthorne from the service, upon the then accepted theory that no Democrat could be trusted by a Whig administration to weigh and gauge merchandise properly — or, in plainer terms, because politics was in that unenlightened state which was reflected in Marcy's barbaric dictum, "To the victors belong the spoils."

Thus compulsorily freed from official drudgery, Hawthorne retired again to his "lonely chamber" and to his literary work, and presently he brought out a book of historical sketches for young people. He had saved about a thousand dollars, and he unwisely invested and lost it in that picturesquely impractical experiment, the Brook Farm community. He joined the community but quickly found himself out of sympathy with the life at Brook Farm. That life was, indeed, fundamentally impossible to one of his temperament. It was community life, while he was by inclination and lifelong habit a recluse, a man of intense individuality. Its purpose was to promote close and constant association, while his very nature shrank from such daily contact with others. He himself said of his experiment: "I went to live in Arcady and found myself up to the chin in a barn-yard." He therefore

remained but a brief time in the community of brilliant scholars and thinkers, and in 1842 — poor as he was after sinking his savings in the experiment — he married and went to live in the old manse at Concord. The only return he got from Brook Farm was a background for *The Blithedale Romance,* written long afterwards.

At Concord, for the first time, Hawthorne was thoroughly happy He had for his wife a woman peculiarly fit to minister to a nature such as his, and from beginning to end their married life, as reflected in their letters and journals, and in the delightfully intimate biography written by their son, appears to have been a poem unmarred by a single false quantity. Hawthorne's only trouble during all the years of his most productive literary activity was the daily necessity of struggling with the problem of bread-winning.

In the old manse he resumed both his writing and his habits of solitude, habits that his wonderfully wise and tenderly sympathetic wife encouraged as a necessary condition of life and work for him.

He here produced some of the stories afterwards collected as *Mosses from an Old Manse,* publishing them in a magazine which paid him meagerly and uncertainly for them. On their proceeds, however, the family contrived to live, and presently a child was born to them, the eldest of the three whom Hawthorne made his playmates and his only entertainers in the years to come. In 1845 the second series of *Twice Told Tales* appeared, achieving a somewhat larger sale than its

predecessor had done. For Hawthorne had been slowly but steadily gaining the favor of those who read.

After four years in the old manse, Hawthorne met with serious losses, chiefly through the failure of the *Democratic Review* while heavily in his debt — heavily at least from the point of view of a man so poor as he at that time was. This failure not only lost to him the return he should have had from stories already written and published, but it cut off his chief reliance for a continued income from his writings. He therefore quitted his Arcady and returned to Salem, where, in 1846, he was made surveyor of the port, and established himself in the custom house.

It was during his three years' incumbency of this office that he wrote the first draft of *The Scarlet Letter,* the work which first brought him fame, and first revealed to an appreciative world the full measure of his genius. The story was published in 1850, and achieved a success such as Hawthorne had never known and probably had not hoped for, and especially such as he had not anticipated from that work. For both he and his publisher distrusted the story as much too sombre to be widely accepted. After a first edition of five thousand copies had been sold during the first fortnight, both author and publisher were convinced that there could be no further demand for the book, and so the type from which it had been printed was distributed. But the demand for the story continued and increased, until it became necessary to set the pages anew, and to stereotype them.

Now for the first time Hawthorne came to his own. Both in America and in England, where the book had been reprinted, *The Scarlet Letter* became immediately the most widely popular book of the time, and the enthusiasm with which British critics hailed the work as a remarkable manifestation of genius encouraged the timid among Hawthorne's own countrymen to recognize him for what he was.

And his newly won fame brought to him, of course, a greatly increased earning capacity, a new and larger market for his literary wares. But fortunately Hawthorne did not exploit his popularity. His artistic conscience was too fine and true to permit him to trade upon his name, as so many popular writers of later times have done. He did not fall into that lamentable and dishonoring mistake which has been so often made in our less conscientious age.

Hawthorne could never live contentedly in one place for any great length of time. Now that his place in the world was made, as one of the most renowned of American men of letters, he removed to Lenox, in the Berkshire Hills, and again went into close seclusion, living in an ugly little red farmhouse a mile or more from the village, on a lonely country road. Herman Melville lived at Pittsfield, not far away, and Hawthorne saw a good deal of him. Otherwise his companions were his wife and children, the little lake, and the beautiful hills. Here he produced *The House of the Seven Gables,* which was published in 1851, and at once achieved a popularity even greater than that

of *The Scarlet Letter*. During the next year he wrote the *Wonder Book* for children, a fascinating story book founded upon the classic mythology, which at once made him the idol of all the young people of that generation. During the next year he published *The Snow Image and Other Twice Told Tales*.

By the autumn of 1851 Hawthorne's old restlessness returned, and he removed from Lenox to West Newton, a most unattractive and railroady suburban village near Boston. Here he remained for less than a year, during which time he wrote the third of that trilogy of tales on which his fame securely rests — *The Blithedale Romance*.

In 1852 he returned to Concord, where he had bought a house which he named "The Wayside." Here he remained until the spring of 1853, when his old college intimate and lifelong friend, Franklin Pierce, who had become President of the United States, appointed him to the consulate at Liverpool, at that time the most desirable office, from a pecuniary point of view, within the President's gift. During Hawthorne's incumbency, Congress passed an act so far reducing the emoluments of the office as to leave the consul with barely sufficient income to cover his expenses.

During his later stay at Concord, Hawthorne continued to write, but he produced no more works comparable in quality with the wonderful three already put forth. The really great work of his life was done, and all that followed, to the end of his days, was good

rather than great literature, unless possibly the reader may feel inclined to reckon *The Marble Faun,* written in Italy and England with *The Scarlet Letter, The House of the Seven Gabels,* and *The Blithedale Romance.*

Hawthorne remained in England during the four years of Pierce's presidency, and afterwards travelled on the continent of Europe, returning to Concord just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Little more of consequence happened to him during the few years that remained to him of life. He died on May 18, 1864, honored and beloved as few Americans have ever been by their countrymen, most honored and beloved by those who were permitted to know him best.

His love of solitude was unnatural and unhealthy of course, but it had no touch of moroseness or even of melancholy about it. He lived, as he said, in fairy-land. Guests could not visit him there, and if he must receive them he must quit the paradise of his imaginary world for a world less real to him and less attractive.

He had a great gift of happiness. His cheerfulness was extraordinary, and his kindliness unbounded. In his children he found unfailing delight, and his companionship with them was so intimate, so sympathetic, so childlike in its abandonment, that, as his son has recorded, they never desired other companionship than his when he was near.

His literary themes were usually sombre in their setting, but were illumined in his handling of them by

a humor as subtle as his psychology itself and as fascinating.

In personal character he was altogether admirable, and his fame is unsullied by any act that it is necessary to explain or to excuse.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

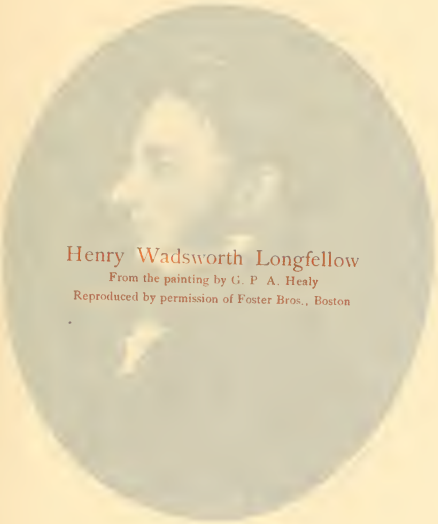
BY way of introduction to a voluminous life of the poet Longfellow, his brother, the Rev. Samuel Longfellow, is at pains to warn his readers that there is little in that life to call for biographical record. So far as events were concerned the whole story of Longfellow's career might easily be written upon a sheet or two of note paper and, except for the interest that necessarily attaches to all that concerns the personality of a beloved poet, even that brief record might be reduced to a few lines, setting forth that Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, on February 27, 1807; that he was educated at Bowdoin College; that after a period of study in Europe—which was later followed by other like periods of study—he became a professor of modern languages at Bowdoin and afterwards at Harvard; that he was twice happily married; that he wrote the poems which have endeared his name to all Americans and won recognition for his genius in other lands; and that he died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 24, 1882.

So far as incident was concerned, his life included

none of it. It was, from beginning to end, that quiet, uneventful, and only gently emotional life of which his poetry is the noblest and fittest reflection that our literature holds.

Perhaps he would have been a greater poet if he had suffered more. Perhaps he would have sounded a stronger note of song if his experience had been less tranquil. Perhaps if he had been a man of less exemplary life; if he had sinned and repented more; if his experience had been more strenuous, more passionate, more intense; if fortune, if mischance, if weakness of will, had brought into his being more trying experiences, more of personal acquaintance with the seamy side of life, more of remorse, more of folly, and more of recompensing repentance his poetry might have made a more irresistible appeal than it does to men of warm blood and conscious human weakness.

John Milton said—and surely John Milton knew—that poetry must be "simple, sensuous, passionate." The poetry of Longfellow is simple enough; in a very gentle and reserved way it is sensuous, but its passion is never intense enough to raise it to the highest levels of inspiring force. Even in *Evangeline*—a story as dramatic in its incidents as any that human life and love and sorrow have ever combined to bring to birth, we have far more of exquisite, idyllic portrayal than of tempestuous passion, heroic assertion or intense imagining of good or ill. Think what a telling Victor Hugo would have given to that tale! Imagine the intensity of passion that Byron



Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

From the painting by G. P. A. Healy

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would have infused into it! Picture the result that Walter Scott would have wrought out of it, had it been his to relate in verse!

But these were Longfellow's limitations. It was given to him to sing the gentler emotions and to reflect in his verse the less strenuous, less passionate life of which alone, from youth to age, he had personal experience. And surely no poet has more perfectly fulfilled his mission than he did. No poet has more inspiringly spoken the thought of those who lead sheltered lives, or more entrancingly reflected the emotions of those to whom simplicity of soul, uprightness of conduct, and purity of mind seem the necessary and only tolerable conditions of worthy human living.

To the gentle, to the refined, to those of simple life, to those who find this world of ours a theatre of lowly duty and only humble ambitions, Longfellow must always be a prophet whose words are irresistibly inspiring, and to readers of less gentle experience they bear always a winsome message of persuasion to simpler and purer and homlier ways of living and thinking and feeling than any that the great world knows.

The "Psalm of Life" is a sermon of untold excellence in its inspiration to earnestness and honesty of soul. The "Village Blacksmith" is an apotheosis of those homlier human virtues on which mainly the sweetening of human life depends. The "Old Clock on the Stairs" ticks out more than one lesson that it

were well for all men and women to learn. It is in these poems and such as these that we find the true quality of Longfellow, the note that made him above all and beyond all the poet of the people, the interpreter and the inspirer of that simple and honest and sweetly wholesome living that lies at the foundation of our national history, and that sadly less and less distinguishes our national character as we grow older in world-knowledge, and less like our earlier and better selves.

Mr. Longfellow began writing verse while yet a mere boy, and during his student life in college he published a number of fugitive pieces in the newspapers. Only a few of these did he afterwards deem worthy of preservation in more permanent form. It was not until 1839 that *Hyperion* appeared as his first ambitious work. He had already won his audience by the "Psalm of Life" and other writings in poetry and prose in the magazines, and *Hyperion* quickly confirmed his claim to be reckoned among American men of letters. A little later followed *Voices of the Night,* his first orderly volume of poetry. Some of the pieces in it—and notably "The Psalm of Life"—quickly became household words throughout the country, and from that hour Longfellow's fame was established and his audience secure.

In 1841 appeared the volume entitled *Ballads and Other Poems,* which added to the list of his universally popular productions, "The Village Blacksmith," "The Wreck of the Hesperus," and "Excelsior."

The record of his further work in poetry is a public possession, and it need not be here set down in detail. In *Evangeline* Mr. Longfellow embarrassed a very beautiful story and a very poetical telling of it by adopting as its vehicle the so-called English hexameter. That is a deformed and hunchbacked kind of verse, differing from the Latin hexameter in that, for lack of spondees in our language with which to end the lines resonantly, it is forced to employ a very lame and halting foot of which the first syllable is long and the other triflingly short. It is entirely safe to say that the choice of this metre for a poem otherwise so full of grace and charm was an unfortunate mistake into which the poet's elaborate scholarship betrayed him in spite of the protest of his very musical ear. A man with a set purpose may jolt over a corduroy road with ejaculatory protestations that he never found a turnpike so delightfully smooth; in like manner one who is set in that way may read *Evangeline* in so loyally appreciative a spirit as to declare its form a pleasure-giving one. But in the one case as in the other, the experience must in fact be one of jolting and joggling. By no possible elocutionary device can the lines of *Evangeline* be made to read easily, smoothly, naturally, and with satisfaction to the ear. But so touching is the story, and so exquisitely sympathetic is its telling, that in spite of its unfortunate form and versification, it has taken its well-deserved place as one of the classics of our literature.

In *Miles Standish,* written half a lifetime later,

the same meter is used with far better effect. Whether because use had taught Longfellow to employ the pseudo-hexameter more expertly, or because the theme of the poem was better adapted to this form, or because of some other and more recondite reason, we read *Miles Standish* with greater ease and more of musical satisfaction than we do *Evangeline*. And *Miles Standish* has the additional merit of telling one of the most fascinating love stories that have been written since the ancient chronicler celebrated in everlasting poetry the devotion of Ruth to Boaz. It was Ruth who spoke and Boaz who heard, when Priscilla interrupted John Alden's eloquence in behalf of his friend, with her exasperated maidenly protest, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?"

In *Hiawatha* which was published in 1855, Mr. Longfellow undertook to do for the Indian side of our very romantic and picturesque national history what he had already done for another side of it in *Evangeline*, what he was already planning to do for a still other side of it in *The Courtship of Miles Standish*. Unhappily, in his ambition to devise new metrical vehicles for English verse he adopted for *Hiawatha* a metre and a method that lent themselves with fatal facility to parody and imitation. When the poem appeared there was not a college in all the land in which some more or less clever student did not record college happenings in Hiawathan verse, not a rural newspaper that did not bristle with like efforts from the hands of local wits and pretending humorists. The poem became—

quite undeservedly — a joke, and for a time at least its appeal to serious attention was lost in the frivolity of its imitators.

Nevertheless, it is a poem of great and lasting worth, and in despite of the oceans of parody in which for a time it seemed destined to be swamped, it has vigorous life in it still, which will increase in interest as the country recedes farther and farther from the Indian life of which it furnishes our noblest poetic record.

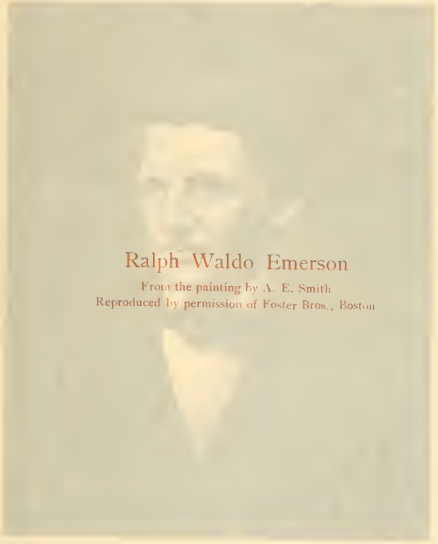
Unlike most of the guild of the poets, Mr. Longfellow prospered in his worldly affairs, and some years before his death he was enabled by the profits that his books yielded to retire from the drudgery of his professorship, and for a little while to enjoy that leisure which a lifetime of sincere endeavor ought to bring, but often does not, to every man whose service to mankind is of his best.



RALPH WALDO EMERSON

TO commonplace minds Ralph Waldo Emerson must always be an inscrutable enigma. Even to those who knew him best and best understood him, he was an Oracle, teaching often in paradoxes, and often veiling his thought in mystical utterances not always easily understood.

It is difficult to define a genius such as his — a genius that never succeeded in defining itself, though believing absolutely in itself as a Divine emanation. By way of suggestion, rather than of definition, it may be said that Emerson was a poet who believed his own poetry, a seer who reverently held his own thought to be a revelation of Divine truth, in the deliverance of which he was merely the agent and implement of a higher power, and not in any sense himself a creative intelligence. It is necessary to understand clearly his intellectual attitude in this respect if we would at all understand his life and work. Emerson held inspiration to be the source of all that is good in utterance. He regarded Divine revelation as a gift of God to man, not confined to any period of human history or to any



Ralph Waldo Emerson

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group of specially inspired men, but as a message delivering itself continuously in all times and countries and through innumerable agencies, human and other. He utterly rejected the thought that God had revealed himself and his will once for all in a body of canonical scriptures, and then had withdrawn himself behind the veil of his omnipotence, leaving mankind to grope for knowledge in a written record of the very existence of which the great majority of men were destined never to know. He believed that revelation is never final, but always progressive, coming to man in every age and land, as man is fitted by circumstance to receive the enlightenment of truth.

Equally he rejected the theory that our only means of acquiring knowledge is through the senses. He profoundly distrusted the senses, indeed, as unsafe guides to knowledge, and seemingly he shared Bishop Berkeley's doubts as to the existence of matter, from which alone the senses derive impressions. He questioned the reality of phenomena, except as emanations of the mind. He held intuition to be the best source of knowledge. He believed that the soul is capable of perceiving truth without the aid of proof, and that truth thus perceived is a revelation from God, against which no teaching of sense-perceived phenomena is to be weighed for an instant.

In this conviction he never sought to demonstrate the soundness of his views. He was content to state what he believed to be truth, and to leave it to find its way to acceptance in other minds. If asked for more

than this he was powerless to answer. If challenged to furnish proof he sat silent. If required to defend his teachings or to reconcile them with conclusions drawn from phenomena, he declined to undertake the task, firmly believing that intuition and intellectual and moral perception, furnish safer guides than any argument based upon phenomena can — that truth is independent of what we call fact, and superior to it. In his writings he made large and fruitful use of the phenomena of nature, but only by way of suggestion, never in support of what he believed to be truth, but constantly in helpful illustration of it.

This is necessarily an inadequate statement. Let us strengthen and clarify it by quoting Emerson's own account of his attitude. In an address before the Divinity School at Harvard, in 1838, he frankly preached all his heresies, not with offensive dogmatism, but with perfect candor and sweet persuasiveness. Instantly his teaching was challenged, not alone by the orthodox and conservative, but equally by the most advanced and liberal Unitarians. Among these was the Rev. Henry Ware, Emerson's friend and former colleague. He wrote to Emerson on the subject and preached a sermon in answer to the address. In reply Emerson wrote a letter in which he said :

"It strikes me very oddly that good and wise men at Cambridge and Boston should think of raising me into an object of criticism. . . . I well know there is no scholar less willing or less able than myself to be a polemic. I could not give an account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the 'arguments' you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands ;

for I do not know what arguments are in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men. I do not even see that either of these questions admits of an answer."

Rejecting all creeds and dogmas, Emerson was, in his own person and life, profoundly religious. He has been called a pantheist, and he was such, though not in the grossly material sense in which we apply that term to certain of the ancient philosophers. They held that all things are God; he taught that God is all things and all things only a part of God—a spiritual doctrine quite different from the materialistic, pagan one. That, in Theodore Parker's phrase, "sinks God in Nature." Emerson's belief sank Nature in God. He held God to be the one, only existence, of which the material universe—if it be material—and all created souls, are only a thought, an emanation, a manifestation. He held human life to be purely educational in its purpose, designed to create and develop character and to lead through death to a higher and more spiritual life. He rejected the doctrine of damnation as unthinkably inconsistent with the idea of God. But he was not quite sure that the human soul might not be incarnated twice or thrice or many times by way of preparation for a higher existence, and on at least one notable occasion he put forth the thought that in God's wisdom human souls might perhaps altogether cease to be at death, a teaching which, if he had been concerned to argue in justification of his thought, he might have found it difficult to reconcile with his

belief concerning the all-embracing, all-including character of the Deity as the only existence in the universe. Still more difficult would it have been to square this suggestion with his firm belief that human souls are not created existences, but are from everlasting to everlasting.

Here we are reminded of a notable trait of Emerson's mind and character. He had no fear of inconsistency. At one time he would frankly contradict what he had said at another, without apology or any attempt to reconcile the later with the earlier utterance. The fundamental characteristic of the man was truthfulness. On every occasion he spoke his thought, not only without shrinking, but with deep reverence for it as God-given truth. It troubled him not at all if the thought of to-day was in contradiction of the thought of yesterday or a year ago. Such inconsistency was in entire harmony with his conviction that thought is revelation and that revelation is partial, fragmentary, progressive. His moral and intellectual courage was boundless. A suppression of truth, a withholding of his most daring thought for fear of any consequence, was as impossible to him as downright lying, and it would have seemed the equivalent of that to his apprehension.

These contradictions are very frequent in his writings done at different times. In one case, cited by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the conflict between two utterances made at the same time, seems obvious. Yet Emerson put forth the two conflicting thoughts in close juxtaposition without explanation or any ef-

fort to reconcile them, offering both equally as truth perceived.

The explanation of this attitude of mind is to be found, doubtless, in the fact that Emerson was at all times a poet. It is true that a comparatively small part of his writings is in metrical form, and that he was neither facile nor accurate in the writing of verse. But very nearly all his prose is in its essence poetry of an exalted character, while some of the passages so overflow with apt and fascinating imagery that, in Dr. Holmes's happy phrase, they "seem to long for the music of rhythm and the resonance of rhyme." His habit of mind was that of the poet altogether, and poets are not accustomed to harness their thought between thills. They think as the zephyrs blow, and if they be honest and fearless, as Emerson was, in a scarcely paralleled degree, their utterances take color from their moods and are necessarily full of contradictions which represent the constant shifting of their points of view.

Extraordinary intellectual insight, transparent simplicity of character, perfect purity of life, and a conscientious devotion to truth as he saw it joined with unfaltering moral courage, made Emerson a born leader of men in matters of mind and morals. He spoke always as one having authority. Yet he claimed no authority for himself. He asked of men nothing more than acceptance of what messages of truth he might bear to them, and that for truth's sake, and not because he was the bearer of the messages. He was therefore

never dogmatic even in rejecting dogma. And in rejecting dogma he never lost sympathy with those who clung most tenaciously to old forms of thought and belief. He was far more than tolerant. With his views as to Divine revelation he found good in all religions, in all sincere beliefs and especially in all things that tended to the uplifting of character and the enthronement of conscience as the ruler of human life; and the good that he found in each, he loved and revered, as a part of that truth which he regarded as of God.

Yet singularly enough — at least in the contemplation of lesser minds than his — he steadfastly opposed organized propagandist efforts for reform. This is the way in which he spoke of such movements.

"The reforms whose fame now fills the land with Temperance, Anti-Slavery, Non-Resistance, No Government, Equal Labor, fair and generous as each appears, are poor, bitter things when prosecuted for themselves as an end. . . . I say to you, plainly, there is no end to which your practical faculty can aim so sacred or so large that, if pursued for itself, will not at last become carrion and an offence to the nostrils. . . . Your end should be one inapprehensible to the senses."

And again he spoke these words of condemnation and rebuke:

"The reforms have their higher origin in an ideal justice, but they do not retain the purity of an idea. They are quickly organized in some low, inadequate form, and present no more poetic image to the mind than the evil tradition which they reprobated. They mix the fire of the moral sentiment with personal and party heats, with measureless exaggerations and the blindness that prefers some darling measure to justice and truth. Those who are

urging with most ardor what are called the greatest benefit of mankind are narrow, self-pleasing, and conceited men."

Another seeming contradiction in his intellectual attitude and methods is seen in his teaching with regard to superlatives. So far as adjectives were concerned he detested superlatives and rarely used them. Apparently he would have liked to reduce the comparison of all adjectives to two degrees. Yet no writer was ever more given than he to hyperbole, to over statement, to extravagant excess in the presentation of his thought. Not satisfied with the gold, he gilded it, and illuminated it with the calcium lights of his fervid imagination and his splendid rhetoric.

In Emerson's life there was so little of incident that his biography, so far as externals are concerned, might be compressed into a few lines. But as an intellectual and moral force, as an inspirer of others to higher and purer living, as an apostle of conscience he lived a life which many volumes would not adequately compass.

He was born in Boston, May 25, 1803. He was educated at the Boston Latin School and Harvard College, as his forebears had been for several generations past. After a period of school teaching he studied divinity, entered the pulpit as a Unitarian clergyman, and was soon pleasantly settled as minister of an intellectual and refined congregation. Meantime he had married, and in 1832 his wife died. During the same year he found himself troubled in mind with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Feeling that he could not administer that rite with a good conscience,

he courageously decided to give up his profession and abandon the career that was so promisingly opening to him. He explained his scruples in a sermon, and resigned from the ministry, at the age of thirty-two, and, when tempting calls to other pulpits came to him he declined them all on conscientious grounds. He was a poor man, with no other profession but that of preaching. Indeed, he was wholly unfitted by the quality of his mind for any other. But with him prudence and self-interest were never permitted for an instant to overrule conscience or to obscure its light.

In 1833 he went to Europe, making a journey which afterwards led to the writing of his *English Traits*. On his return he preached occasionally, finally taking the lecture platform for his pulpit and delivering there and in what are called occasional addresses, his conceptions of truth. Throughout his life, too, he wrote—though more sparingly than the cultivated public could have desired—for the higher public prints. He went to Concord to live, and from the time of taking up his residence there until age dulled his faculties he was recognized as the master by all those intellectual men and women of Concord, Boston, and Cambridge, who made that age and that region famous for "plain living and high thinking." All who were best and wisest and most earnest were his intimates, and most of them his disciples through whom his teachings were transmitted to others throughout the land.

It is perhaps the best testimony to the purity and

sweetness of his character that all who were permitted to know him loved him, and that those who knew him best loved him best. When his house was burned, in 1872, a fund for its rebuilding was quickly made up by voluntary contributions. No one was asked to subscribe, yet within a brief time the fund amounted to more than eleven thousand dollars. Those who gave the money claimed the right to contribute as a precious privilege, and the gift was placed in Mr. Emerson's hands with so much of delicacy and so much of sincere affection that he had no choice but to accept it. He was now in his seventieth year and in feeble health. The destruction of his house had been a severe shock to him. In order to spare him further distress, and for the sake of diverting his mind from thoughts of a calamity which had involved the loss of his household gods and still more precious manuscripts, these friends of his formed a conspiracy to send him abroad, pending the reconstruction of his house. They fabricated a mission for him, which did not deceive him. But their kindly affection was so apparent that he yielded to their desire and went not only to Europe but to the Nile. On his return Concord received him with bands of music, a triumphal arch, and a greeting like that of a returning conqueror. Surely we have in this incident an illustration of the extraordinary hold that the quiet, solitude-loving poet had taken upon the minds and hearts of men.

Emerson had married his second wife in 1835, and to her loving ministrations and the devotion of his sons

and daughter, he owed the happiness of his calm and beautiful old age. About 1867 or 1868 his faculties began to show impairment, first in a progressive loss of memory, and later in a distressing aphasia, or loss of power to command the words he wanted, even though they were merely the names of commonplace things which he had no difficulty in describing so as to make his meaning clear. His sight failed too, and slowly but surely he sank into the doze of old age which precedes the sleep of death when death comes naturally and not from accident or disease.

He died on April 27, 1882, mourned not only by those brilliant men and women who had been his companions and disciples in life, but by all men throughout the land who think and aspire.

THE PREACHERS

JONATHAN EDWARDS

EVERY man is the product of his time and country. In his character, his intellectual attitude, and, ultimately, even in his opinions, he is as truly a necessary consequence of his environment as is any tree or plant grown in a garden. Heredity gives the first impulse, indeed, to the direction of every man's development, just as the seed selected determines whether the plant is to be of one species or of another. But environment does all the rest, in the case of the man, just as climate, soil, and cultivation do in the case of the plant. There is individuality of strength or weakness in both cases of course, but it determines scarcely anything more than whether the particular specimen of human or plant life is to fulfil its functions perfectly or in a less adequate degree.

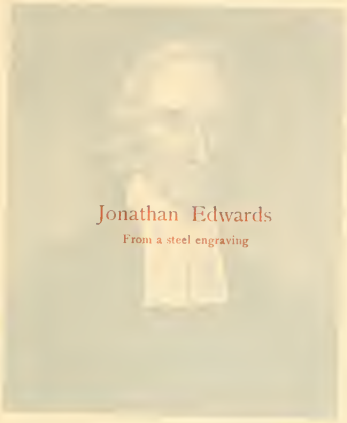
It is important to bear this truth in mind in considering the life, the character, and the intellectual attitude of such a man as Jonathan Edwards. Beginning in 1703 and ending in 1758, his life was almost exactly coterminous with the first half of the eighteenth century, and in estimating his work, we must judge

him always in the light of his time. What that light was, we shall presently consider.

In the meantime it is interesting to observe that Jonathan Edwards reasoned upon the great theological question that most earnestly engaged his attention, upon lines precisely parallel to those suggested above. With respect to the freedom of the Human Will, in which he believed, and the doctrine of eternal decrees in which he also believed, he argued in reconciliation of the two, substantially in this way: The law of cause and effect is universal in its application; every man is by God's permission, absolutely free to act in accordance with his own will; but his power to will is controlled by causes outside himself and so, while his will is free to carry out its purposes, he is powerless to control the will itself, but must obey the behests of a power independent of his own purposes.

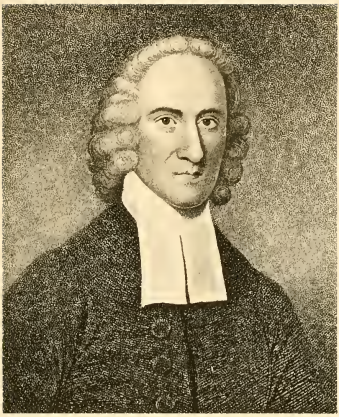
This is very closely like the statement that a flowering shrub is free to bring forth as many blossoms as it has strength to bear, but that it has no choice as to what those blossoms shall be in kind. It may aspire to roses, but if it be sprung from an apple seed its flowers must be apple blossoms.

This is a digression, permitted here only because it illustrates an interesting tendency of the human mind. Jonathan Edwards would have rejected, almost with anathemas, the assumption of a parallelism between the processes of plant growth and those of the human soul's development. And yet his reasoning followed lines so close to those of Huxley and Haeckel and Her-



Jonathan Edwards

From a steel engraving



bert Spencer, that it requires only an easily inferential illustration to make their identity apparent.

Quitting the digression, let us come back to the fact that Jonathan Edwards was a product and a conspicuous example of New England ways of thinking during the first half of the eighteenth century. In our day it is customary to think of him as the type and embodiment of a rigidly strait-laced and almost inhumanly merciless theology. But if we duly consider the environment in which his thinking was done, we are forced to regard him rather as a liberal in theology than as a conservative; rather as a man disposed to advance toward the light than as a reactionary. There is not the smallest doubt that his teachings in his own day were regarded as liberal almost to the verge of radicalism, by the less able but sterner adherents of Calvinism whose thought and influence so largely dominated opinions at that time.

While he was anxiously seeking to reconcile what seemed to him the indisputable doctrine of the decrees with some form of freedom for the human will—while he was trying to find that God was "not the author of sin," while still holding fast to his belief that every human act and event had been determined by divine decree "before ever the foundations of the world were laid"—his less sensitive fellows in the pulpit were crying simply: "Thus saith the Lord." They preached Calvinism equally, without qualification or apology. They made no effort to reconcile its contradictions

or to find an explanation of its inconsistencies with human reason. They scorned human reason, indeed, and were disposed to visit all the anathemas of the Church upon those who sought to exercise it in connection with theological dogma. Their message to mankind was simply this: God decided before the world was made, either that you should be adopted at death into eternal bliss, or that you should be eternally damned in a very literal hell of fire and brimstone, and nothing that you can do can in anywise alter the decree or change the fate assigned to you. In any case you deserve all you get, if you are damned, while if you are saved it must be simply by the divine good pleasure, in spite of your sins, inherited and personally committed.

Against this repellent teaching Jonathan Edwards instinctively revolted. But the theology upon which it rested was too firmly fixed in his mind even to be questioned. It was to him like the fact of the day and night, or the succession of the seasons, or the law of gravitation—a fact against which all controversy must of necessity be futile. Nay, it was more than this. It was to him the direct revelation of truth by God Himself, to dispute which was to question the Divine veracity. He could not reject the theological basis of this teaching, therefore, and so, with an abiding conviction of the Divine mercy and goodness, he sought, and believed that he had found an explanation of it all which sufficiently reconciled the two conflicting views of the Divine character. He was in truth,

therefore, a liberal, judged by his time and the environment of his life.

It is not easy for us of a later and laxer age to realize what rigid limitations were then imposed upon a devout man's thinking. Let us aid conception by mentioning a few of the more obvious restraints that at that time saddled themselves like an incubus upon thought. The Holy Scriptures were then held to be holy in utter fact. They were believed to be the direct, final, absolute, and indisputable word of God to man, absolutely true and divinely authoritative in every word and line and syllable; and this belief in their inspiration extended to the English translation, as well as to the Hebrew and Greek originals. This authoritative revelation of divine truth admitted of no question at any point. To doubt its literal accuracy, indeed, was to invoke upon oneself the curses with which the Book of Revelation closes. To suggest an interpretation other than the obvious and literal one of the words, was to make an addition to the revealed record of a kind equally anathematized by St. John the Divine.

Thus every believer who, like Jonathan Edwards, undertook theological study, was forced to begin and continue under the rigid restraint of a divinely inspired revelation, which must not only not be disputed in its least important part, but must not even be subjected to inquiry as to its authority or its significance. The theological student of that day no more dared doubt any miracle story, or dispute the literal accuracy of any

statement made in the Bible, than the scientific student of to-day dares suggest that gravitation may not be a fact, that the correlation of forces is a myth, that action and reaction bear no necessary relation to each other, or that energy is utterly independent of supply.

Again, it was the fixed habit of men's minds in that age to reason from accepted premises without ever subjecting the premises to critical inquiry as to their truth. Bacon had indeed written the *Novum Organum* some centuries before, but even he had never lost that untrustworthy habit of reasoning from dogma which his greatest work was written to condemn, and the new method had in no perceptible way influenced the minds of theological thinkers in Jonathan Edwards's day. It was the universal custom, not in theology alone but in law, in politics, in medicine, and in everything else that involved thought, to accept as fixed and eternally true, the notions that had been promulgated by men of authority. It was the universal habit to reason from such premises to whatever absurd conclusions the processes of logic might reach. The thought of subjecting the premises themselves to question, or of investigating the right of the authorities to dogmatize, never occurred to men, and in theology at least it was forbidden by a direct threat of eternal damnation as its inevitable consequence.

In other words, the scientific attitude of mind was impossible in the time in which Jonathan Edwards lived. The spirit of criticism was not yet born. And,

still more important, perhaps, the scholarship upon which criticism bases its investigations did not exist.

All these things constituted the conditions under which Jonathan Edwards's thinking and Jonathan Edwards's work were done. They are facts with which we must reckon if we would justly judge the man. If he accepted doctrines that are abhorrent to our moral sense, he did so under a compulsion of authority which we can scarcely even understand; and it is only fair, in estimating his influence, to consider how largely it tended to alleviation—how much worse it might have been for his countrymen if, with his great ability and his masterful influence, he had taught the full measure of his doctrine with no attempt to find a softening influence, a mitigating explanation of the truth as he believed it to be written by God Himself for the admonition of mankind.

Still again it is necessary to bear in mind that, in Jonathan Edwards's day, this earthly life was held to be of small account, or no account at all, except as a stage of existence that furnished opportunity of preparation for a future life—for in spite of the doctrine that every man's eternal salvation or damnation had been irrevocably decreed "before ever the foundations of the world were laid," and that the number of the saved and of the damned, thus irrevocably fixed by divine decree, was "so fixed and limited that it could neither be added to nor taken from"—in spite of this doctrine, it was still held as revealed truth that the present life is a period of probation and preparation, having no

significance or purpose apart from the work of getting ready for the life that is to come. The fatalism of the Calvinist of that age was as absolute as that of the Mahometan, and it was as utterly inconsistent with itself. As the Mahometan who believes that all things are determined by Kismet, also confidently believes that he who dies in battle for the faith goes instantly to Paradise without so much as a question whether or not his personal character fits him to enjoy that state of existence, so the Calvinist of that inexorably logical and most unreasonable time, believed that every man's eternal fate was sealed beyond recall, but at the same time that he was permitted to live in this world in order that his fitness for bliss or its reverse in the world to come might be demonstrated. If a man were born to be damned it could make no possible difference in his fate for him to do well or ill in his life on earth. It was expressly set forth by authority indeed, that a man condemned to hell before the foundations of the world were laid, might lead an excellent, humane, and most lovely life, without in any way altering the decree; that he might even attain to a large degree of godliness without winning the smallest chance of a future life among the godly; that all goodness was a mere matter of "works," and that works, either good or evil, counted as nothing in the decrees of God; that salvation was by faith alone, and that even faith could not save any man from damnation if to damnation he had been doomed long ages before he was born.

It is not necessary to set forth more fully that extraordinary medley of contradictions which constituted the creed to which Jonathan Edwards was born and in which he was trained, and lived and died. It is only necessary to bear in mind that this body of belief presented itself to his mind, not as a matter to be questioned, or to be reasoned about, or to be accepted or rejected accordingly as it commended itself to his intelligence or affronted his understanding, but as a direct, indisputable revelation from God, the absolute truth of which was not open even to reverent inquiry. He believed not only that God could tell only the truth, but that those who professed to bear God's messages to man were incapable of misinterpretation, misunderstanding, or any perversion of the Word.

It is with no remotest purpose of theological disputation that this brief and incomplete summary of the beliefs that dominated Jonathan Edwards's life and mind is here set forth. It is solely with the purpose of enabling the reader to estimate aright the intellectual attitude, the life and the work of Jonathan Edwards, by pointing out the conditions under which he lived. Interpreted in the light of those conditions, his attitude appears as that of the liberal, lacking only the enlightenment of modern scholarship to make him a leader of the generous thought of our less logical but more compassionate time.

For the rest, Jonathan Edwards was a man of extraordinary uprightness of character and perfect purity of life. To his conscience he made sacrifices that may

have been uncalled for, but the record of which must awaken the admiration of all men possessed of chivalry enough to see glory in self-sacrifice without regard to the worthiness of the cause in behalf of which the sacrifice was made.

Edwards was born at East Windsor, Connecticut, on October 5, 1703, now nearly two hundred years ago. He was the son of a clergyman, and from infancy his mind was directed quite abnormally into theological controversy. At ten years of age, when he ought to have been perfecting himself in the game of marbles, he was writing a satirical paper against materialism. At twelve, when a ball ought to have meant more to him than all the spheres in the universe, and when a bat should have commended itself to his youthful imagination as the most effective implement of controversy, he was writing to Europe concerning the "Wondrous Way of the Working of the Spider"—an excursion into natural science which reflected a natural but resolutely suppressed intellectual tendency of his mind.

At the age of twelve he entered Yale College—then scarcely on the scholastic level of a modern high-school. At sixteen he was graduated as a bachelor of arts. During the next two years he studied theology at Yale. When nineteen years of age he was called to preach in a New York church, a post which he held for only eight months. He was at this time an almost morbid enthusiast in religion, "dedicating" himself to the "service of God" with a solemnity that clergymen

in good physical health in our time would sternly discourage in a boy under twenty years old.

In 1723 — when twenty years old — he became a tutor at Yale. Two years later he accepted the assistant pastorate at Northampton, Massachusetts, where, a few years later, he succeeded to the full pastorate. Here his fame as a preacher grew apace, and for seventeen years his relations were altogether happy.

Then came, in 1744, the great trial of his life, out of which he came with unlimited credit to his conscience. Under his preaching and that of the evangelist Whitefield a remarkable "revival" occurred in New England, Northampton largely sharing in it. It speedily bred fanatical excesses, against which Edwards preached with all his logic, all his fervor, and all his healthful common sense, but to no avail. It is a matter of historical record that great emotional religious excitement, when unrestrained by other and saner influences, tends to result in some form of sexual immorality—not perhaps as a legitimate result of religious fervor, but as a quite illegitimate and most deplorable consequence of emotional excitement inadequately restrained and left without proper direction. The Oneida community, with all its abominations, had its birth in what is still known as "the great revival." The German Muckers trace their history to a like occasion. The Mormon movement, originating in ill-regulated emotional fervor, culminated in licensed polygamy. Thus history emphasizes the truth already recognized by psychology, that the emotions are closely co-related,

that laughter and tears lie not far apart, and that when any impulse, however pure and good, abnormally excites the emotional nature of men and women, some form of emotional immorality is apt to result.

This is what happened in Jonathan Edwards's congregation. The details, even in that degree in which they were permitted, by a rigid censorship of utterance, to become known, are not pleasant or necessary subjects of discussion here. It came to Jonathan Edwards's knowledge that improper literature was being freely circulated among the men and women of his congregation with such results as were to be expected in the emotionally excited conditions that he had so diligently labored to prevent.

With the instinct of an honest man, fearless in the discharge of duty, and uncompromising in his devotion to morality, he insisted that a searching inquiry should be made into the facts. But men of influence in the church objected. Prompted by worldly wisdom, or by other motives, as the case might be, they opposed investigation as a process that might lead to a great scandal, injurious to the church.

To Jonathan Edwards's immeasurably honest mind this very justly seemed a compromise with unrighteousness, and he would have no part in it. Rather than soil his soul by participation in such a parley with iniquity he gave up his pastorate in 1750, and surrendered a salary which furnished him the only means of putting bread and butter into the mouths of his children and clothes upon their backs.

He was a man of truly heroic mould. He resolutely faced poverty and want and sore distress, rather than make terms of any kind with the forces of unrighteousness—rather than lend his countenance, even by indirect implication, to evil. No hero of the sword could do a braver thing. No paladin ever proved his courage or his character more gloriously.

Declining many offers of settlement in good parishes, in Scotland, in Virginia, and elsewhere, Edwards undertook a mission to the Indians.

On February 16, 1758, he became President of the College of New Jersey—now Princeton University. He lived only thirty-four days thereafter, dying of smallpox on the 22d of March.



WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING was one of a remarkable group of thinkers, who did their work in obedience to their consciences but in opposition to their intention. They wrought a revolution which they deprecated. They established a sect in direct opposition to their own purpose, and, having established it, they did all they could to make it rather an influence in behalf of free thought in other sects than an organized exponent of the free thought formulated by itself.

As Emerson contributed mightily to all the reforms of his time, from abolitionism to the emancipation of theology from its swaddling clothes, while denouncing and contemning all organized reform movements as unworthy expressions of self-seeking, so Channing became the great apostle of liberal Christianity and the chief force in a radical movement while stoutly contending for conservatism, and loyally striving to preserve the old church organization intact in its unity and undisturbed in its supremacy.

The trouble with these men was that their minds



William Ellery Channing

From a lithograph





were dominated by a conscience which refused to submit itself to their wills or to accommodate itself to their prejudices.

Channing was the irresistibly eloquent and immeasurably persuasive orator of that movement of which Emerson was the thinker and Theodore Parker an apostle and evangelist.

Channing's temper was sweetly sympathetic, almost beyond example. His love of truth was always uncompromising, but never unkindly or aggressive. There was no taint of arrogance in his intellectual processes, no suggestion of the dogmatist in his thinking. He loved truth and righteousness, and it was his endeavor in life to commend truth and righteousness to other men's minds, not only for the sake of truth and righteousness, but even more for the sake of other men's minds. For Channing loved men better than dogmas. He held humanity in higher esteem than human reason. He sought rather to make men feel aright than to compel their opinions to his standards.

Human conduct was to him merely an evidence — and not always a conclusive evidence—of the moral conditions that inspired it; and his concern as a persuasive apostle of a rational religion was rather for the preservation of the religion than for the propagation of the rationalism.

Most of his fellows in this movement were coldly rational; he was warmly religious. They assailed the old dogmas with destructive intent; he sought to ameliorate them. They contended for rationalism in religion;

he battled for religion in rationalism. They had enthusiasm for logic, he for piety. They, in putting aside their ancient beliefs, were chiefly concerned to destroy the foundations of faith, in order that the new religion might prevail; he was chiefly concerned to preserve all that could be saved from the wreck of the old faith, in order that the new religion might not lack the essential element of enthusiasm. In brief, while those who worked with him sought to destroy, he sought to preserve and upbuild. He endeavored to engraft upon the new theology a loving belief in divine beneficence, and in all those "gifts of the Spirit," to employ his own phrase, which tended to make men better in their characters and in their lives.

Under different intellectual conditions William Ellery Channing would have been an evangelist of orthodoxy. His impulses were all in that direction, and only his intellectual environment turned him to an opposite course. He was by nature a religious enthusiast, by circumstance a radical in the destruction of dogma. Personally he was a man to be esteemed without limit for his purity of soul and his absolute uprightness of life, and to be loved and revered for his abounding human sympathy. As an orator he was without a superior in the persuasiveness of his delivery, in the masterfulness of his presentation of his thought, and in the extraordinarily winning quality of his voice and manner.

He was born in Newport, R. I., on April 7, 1780. He received the very meagre education that Harvard

College afforded at the end of the eighteenth century, of which Mr. Justice Joseph Story has given us a detailed account—an education which conferred the bachelor of arts degree upon a basis of study far smaller than that now required for admission to the Freshman class of even the smallest and obscurest college in the country. He was graduated in 1798, and immediately afterwards went to Richmond, Virginia, to serve as tutor in the family of D. M. Randolph. There he fell in love with Virginian hospitality, and with the Virginian breadth of view and practice respecting the possession of wealth. He looked upon slavery with abhorrence as did his employers, the Randolphs, and sympathized strongly with the desire then widely prevalent in Virginia to carry out Jefferson's ideas and bring about, in some orderly and safe fashion, the emancipation of the State from the incubus that had been imposed upon it by the greed of an earlier historic period.

It was during this stay in Richmond, also, that Channing, in spite of the temptations of Virginia's groaning dinner-tables and of the indulgent lavishness of living then prevalent there, adopted an ascetic method of eating which permanently impaired his digestion and undoubtedly shortened his life, after making living itself, for many years, a pain to him.

From Virginia he went back to New England and became a divinity student at Harvard. In 1803 he was made pastor of the Federal Street Congregational Church, in Boston, where the peculiarly winning

quality of his eloquence quickly brought him into popular favor.

During all the years of his ministry in this church, Channing occupied a position of compromise between the old orthodoxy and the new Unitarianism. He held fast to the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, while refusing to admit Christ's identity with God. He earnestly desired the old, while courageously accepting the new. His instincts were conservative, while his intellectual processes tended inexorably to the acceptance of radical opinions.

His teaching as a pulpit orator was at once reformatory and mystical. His influence was that of a leader of advanced thought on the one hand and a restraining force in behalf of orthodoxy on the other. With it all he was beloved as few preachers have ever been, and his influence was overmastering upon a generation of men whose intellects were in revolt against their inclinations.

The same influence that he brought to bear in the pulpit was still more powerfully felt in his writings contributed to *The Christian Examiner*, the *North American Review*, and other periodicals in which the men of that time were trying to hold fast to the traditions of religion while rejecting the fundamental assumptions on which those traditions rested.

This is not the place in which to show in detail the nature and extent of the revolution in which, almost in spite of himself, Channing became both a leader and a formative influence. It suffices if we have made clear

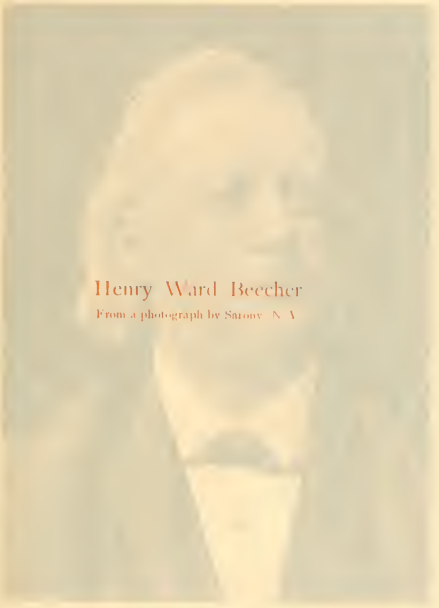
his attitude of conscientious revolt against dogmas repellent to his mind, coupled with a conservative reverence for traditions that were dear to him by virtue of inherited association.

He died on October 2, 1842, after an unsullied life of high endeavor in which conscience was always a dominant factor, but in which conscience itself was ameliorated by an abounding and all-embracing sympathy.

HENRY WARD BEECHER

DURING the decade and a half of years that have passed since Henry Ward Beecher's death, men and women have got far enough away from the echoes of his persuasive voice to estimate him with some degree of accuracy.

That he was a commanding force in human thought and affairs during the period of his activity is a fact admitting of no doubt. But while his published writings include more than a score of titles, there is scarcely one of them that has vitality of interest to-day. They were the works of a man essentially and almost exclusively an orator,—a man who dealt always with the thought at the immediate moment uppermost in men's minds, and handled it, as the orator always must do, in the temper of the passing hour and with a view to immediate effect. Mr. Beecher mightily moved men's minds while he was living and speaking; but his words survive only in echoes that have lost their resonance. His case illustrates anew and strongly the truth that the orator, like the actor, however irresistibly he may appeal to those



Henry Ward Beecher

From a photograph by Sarony N Y





who hear him, leaves comparatively little behind him to bear witness of his might; that spoken words, however eloquent, lose most of their force in the process of transference into print; that the voice, and bearing, and personal presence of the orator are necessary adjuncts, without which his utterance must lose much of its virile influence.

Mr. Beecher was never a closely logical thinker. Perhaps, if he had been, his oratory would not have been so great as it was, for, after all, the orator makes his appeal rather to the emotions of men than to their intellects, and carries their excited minds with him rather than convinces them by reasoning of the justice of his views.

When Mr. Beecher spoke in antagonism to slavery, he pictured to men's minds the easily imagined horrors they would suffer if subjected to such a system, and the fervor of his speech took no account of the negro's radically different temperament and point of view as factors in the problem. Still less did he pause to consider the grave difficulties that lay in the path of statesmen who must deal with that subject, the constitutional structure of our government, with all its embarrassing limitations, and the still graver problems that perplexed Clay and other sincere advocates of gradual emancipation, who foresaw the difficulty of so adjusting affairs as to make freedom and enfranchisement compatible with orderly civil government by popular suffrage in States where the most ignorant of the blacks outnumber the whites. As an orator, speaking

for a temporary purpose, Beecher put these considerations aside and forced upon his auditor the simple question : "How would you like to be a slave, owned in your body and life by another man whose arbitrary will you must recognize as law ?"

All this is said, not in criticism but in exposition and in illustration of Mr. Beecher's methods, which were necessarily those of the orator, rather than those of the closely reasoning essayist or those of the statesman, who must take into account many limitations and many practical difficulties with which the orator need not concern himself.

The orator doubtless convinces himself of the justice of his cause before he begins to speak in its behalf. But when he once begins to speak, he feels himself free to put aside whatever stands in his way, to disregard all difficulties as "side issues," and to make the strongest appeal he can to human passion, with little or no regard to anything else. It is his function to persuade, and to that alone he devotes himself. He has no time for close and orderly reasoning, and if he be really an orator with the divine gift of all-moving speech, he has no liking for it.

It was not only in the ways indicated that Mr. Beecher illustrated the disposition of his mind to put aside the harder things of logic, and to base belief rather upon inclination and impulse than upon nicely reasoned argument.

While holding fast to all the premises of the old theology, instilled into him by his father, Mr. Beecher

led his church into an emotional revolt against the doctrine of eternal punishment. He once preached a sermon in which he frankly accepted the Darwinian theory of the Descent of Man, but at the same time declared his unquestioning faith in the doctrine of Christ's atonement. Thereupon a newspaper man asked him how he reconciled these two antagonistic things, pointing out that the doctrine of atonement rested upon the theory of man's fall, while the Darwinian theory was that the whole history of man had been the story, not of a fall, but of a gradual, continuous, and law-directed advance, from protoplasmic conditions through the lower animal life into the full glory of manhood as we know it. Mr. Beecher's reply was characteristic. "Don't bother, my dear boy," he said; "we are bound to accept Darwin. All the evidence is with him. But we simply can't give up the doctrine of the atonement, and we won't. Let 's accept both and be happy. The two may be fundamentally irreconcilable, as you say, but what does it matter? We must believe one and we love to believe the other. After all, we don't know much about it, and the main thing is to be happy, whatever happens. What 's the use of chopping logic?"

It is chiefly as an orator, therefore, that we must consider Mr. Beecher. And as an orator, as a man capable of moving, controlling, and inspiring men by his voice and words, he was unquestionably foremost even in a generation which included Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, and Wendell Phillips

among its men of silver tongues. In a greater degree than any of these he influenced the thought, the emotions, the conduct of men.

Through long years, from Plymouth pulpit, he preached to an audience of three thousand people, while other thousands waited outside in hope of finding standing room somewhere whither his voice might penetrate. As a lecturer the eagerness to hear him was so great that although he raised his price to five hundred dollars a night he was compelled to reject the greater number of applications for his presence, on the ground that he had not time in which to address the multitudes that so eagerly desired to hear him. Yet if the desire to know what he thought had been the only inspiration, his stenographer might easily have satisfied these multitudes.

His career began simply enough. He was a son of Lyman Beecher, and was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 24, 1813. He was educated at the Boston Latin School, Mount Pleasant Institute, and Amherst College. He studied theology at the Lane Seminary, and went to Indiana to preach in 1837. Ten years later he became pastor of Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn, and there made his reputation as a pulpit orator.

His methods were wholly contrary to the traditions of his time. He put aside the trills and furbelows of the pulpit and presented himself to his congregation as a man like unto themselves. He spoke always with a most tremendous earnestness of conviction and purpose, but he did not hesitate to use freely certain

oratorical arts and artifices which, until then, had been deemed out of place in the pulpit and inconsistent with the solemnity befitting the preacher's high mission. He freely indulged his sense of humor as a means of attracting and holding the attention of his congregation. He drew from history, from biography, and from experience the most dramatic stories that could be used in illustration of his preaching, and he related them with an extraordinary histrionic skill. His sole concern was to impress his own thought upon the minds of those who listened and to win them to his point of view. In aid of that purpose he employed every conceivable art of oratory, suffering no consideration of dignity and no tradition of the pulpit to stand for one moment in his way.

He made as little of creeds as of conventionalities, and if he had been a preacher commissioned by any well-ordered ecclesiastical authority he would almost certainly have been silenced for heresy at any one of a dozen points in his career.

He was the first of the "political preachers." Hating slavery with all his soul, he was not restrained from pulpit utterance in antagonism to it by the fact that it had become a question of party politics. He became a member of the anti-slavery party at its inception, and when it took form as the Republican party, with its machinery and its candidates, he preached its cause from the pulpit as unhesitatingly as he preached the doctrines of his religion. He went further and became a public speaker in that behalf, at

cost of much obloquy when he spoke for "Sharp's Rifles" in Kansas, but with great applause when, during the Civil War, he went to England to plead there for a revision of that popular opinion which at first set so strongly in favor of the Southern Confederacy.

He once said to the present writer: "I have this advantage over most preachers of righteousness, that I have always felt myself capable of all unrighteousness. I know what the impulses to wrong-doing are, because they are strong in my own being. When I am called upon to attack wrong, I know in my own person all the details of its defensive works. I am familiar with every gun-room in its fortifications, every traverse it has built for purposes of defence. It is the best equipment of the preacher of righteousness to feel in himself all the impulses of unrighteousness, to be able to put himself into the place of the wrong-doer or the wrong thinker, and to assail him from the vantage-ground of his own points of view." This utterance, quoted from memory, and imperfectly, no doubt, furnishes a sufficient key to that extraordinary influence which Beecher exercised so long as he lived, and which so completely died with him that not one of his published works is to-day a vital factor in human affairs.

His influence, while he lived, was almost matchless in its extent and in its masterfulness. Now that he is dead, almost nothing remains of it. His persuasiveness of speech appealed irresistibly to the minds of the men who listened to his voice; to-day it survives only

as a memory in the minds of a rapidly passing generation. It was as evanescent as the sound of the sea beating upon the shifting sands. The world has passed on to other questions than those that Beecher so passionately discussed. It is concerning itself with matters quite apart from those that engaged his mind. The voice of the orator is silent, and the echo of his eloquence is dying out of the ears to which it made its appeal.

To record this truth is in no way to discredit the work or the public service of the orator. It is only to define it and to point out its necessary limitations.

The later life of Mr. Beecher was embittered by a controversy that involved the question of his integrity and his purity. Theodore Tilton, in the public prints and in a suit at law, accused Mr. Beecher of gross and criminal immorality. At the trial, both sides seemed to shrink somewhat from a full revelation of the facts, whatever they may have been. After a hearing of six months, the jury found itself unable to reach a verdict, and when the trial was over there was a like division of opinion among the people, especially those whose opinions were of consequence, including the leading ministers of the church to which Mr. Beecher belonged.

This coldly impartial statement is perhaps all that need be made in an essay like this concerning a matter the very mention of which must be grievously distressing to all honest and generous minds.

Mr. Beecher lived in full health and vigor of mind and body until his seventy-fifth year, when he was stricken with apoplexy, and died on the 8th of March, 1887.

THE PHILANTHROPISTS AND EDUCATORS

GEORGE PEABODY

MR. GLADSTONE said of George Peabody that "he taught the world how a man may be the master of his fortune and not its slave." To men of great possessions he set an example by which many of them in this later time are wisely profiting. He did his giving while he was still in vigor of life and able to direct his benefactions wisely to the ends intended, instead of postponing them until death, and thus making of his fortune a lure to lawyers.

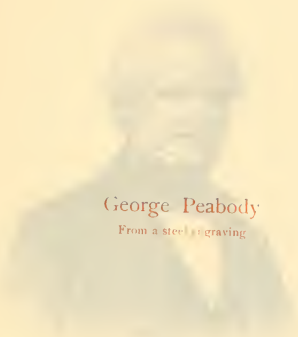
Further than this, he did not withhold his hand from generosity until the work of accumulation was finished. He began his giving early and continued it to the end. His benefactions were oft-recurring incidents in his career of money-making, and not, as is usually the case, a sort of belated supplement. He gave while yet he was engaged in the work of making, not waiting till the instinct of accumulation should be satiated before seeking enjoyment in the exercise of the instinct of bestowing.

Moreover, he distributed in patriotic and philanthropic ways an astonishingly large proportion of his

total wealth. Other men have given away larger sums than he did, particularly in our day of accumulations vaster than any he ever dreamed of; but few if any ever bestowed upon purposes helpful to others so great a proportional share of their total possessions. We pay well-deserved honor to a multi-millionaire who has lavished ten millions in a single year in bestowing public benefits, and reflect that the sum represents all but two or three millions of the giver's income during that year from secure investments, leaving him only a little richer at the end of the year than he was at its beginning. What, then, should be our attitude of mind towards a man like Peabody, who gave away, not only his income, but quite two thirds of the total accumulations of his lifetime?

As nearly as can be reckoned George Peabody made about fifteen million dollars by his lifework. Of that sum he gave away about ten millions in beneficence. And his beneficence was as wise in its direction as it was liberal in its amount. He was as diligent and as sagacious in the distribution of his wealth as he had been in its gathering. He took as much pains with his benefactions as he had ever taken with his investments. He worked as hard to make his gifts lastingly productive of the good he intended as he had ever worked to make his money-earning enterprises yield their full meed of profit.

He was not content to bestow money upon philanthropic or humanly unlifting enterprises; he *invested* in those enterprises, laboriously planning to make



George Peabody

From a steel engraving



them yield a perpetual harvest of good, so that to-day the sums he bestowed are as fruitful of the good to which he devoted them as they were when first dedicated to beneficent ends. A generosity so wisely ordered is not at all to be measured by the figures that set forth merely the sums thus invested in perpetual good works. It is not too much to say, that rightly judged, George Peabody was the greatest of philanthropists, the one who most freely gave of his time, his industry, his sagacity, and his experience, as well as of his money, for the betterment of his fellow-men.

George Peabody was born on February 18, 1795, at Danvers, Massachusetts. The town has since fittingly taken the name Peabody, in honor of its most illustrious son. The only schooling he ever had was got before he was eleven years old. At that age he began his business career as a clerk in a country store. After serving in that capacity in several towns, he was entrusted by his uncle with the entire charge of a store in Georgetown, District of Columbia. At the age of nineteen he was admitted to partnership in a dry goods establishment in Baltimore of which, with its branches, he ultimately became the head.

In this business he accumulated money and experience, and in 1837, with a large knowledge of affairs, he sought a broader field of activity in London, where he established himself as a banker, founding the house of George Peabody & Co. in 1843. Before he went to London to live he had demonstrated his genius for finance by negotiating in 1835 a Maryland loan for

$8,000,000 after all other attempts to accomplish the purpose had been baffled by the State's lack of credit. He had also begun his career as a liberal giver to public purposes, by refusing to accept the commission of $200,000 due to him on the negotiation of the State loan mentioned above.

In London Peabody's sagacity as a banker rapidly brought wealth to him, but there is little to relate concerning that part of his career, except that his patriotism in investing heavily in United States Government Bonds, during the storm-and-stress period of the Civil War, was rewarded with great gains.

It is as a giver, rather than as a maker of money, that the story of George Peabody is interesting, and that part of his biography, almost startling as his generosity was, may be sufficiently told in a few simple words and eloquent figures.

In 1851 Peabody furnished the money for arranging and displaying the American exhibit at the first World's Fair. In that year also he gave the first of those magnificent Fourth of July dinners in London which were annually repeated till the end of his life, and which did much to stimulate friendship for our country among the greatest and most influential men of England. In 1852 he aided Dr. Kane's Arctic expedition with a contribution of $10,000. During the same year he gave $30,000 to found the Peabody Institute in Danvers, an endowment which he afterwards increased to $200,000, adding $50,000 more for a similar institute in South Danvers. In 1857 he founded the

Peabody Institute in Baltimore, which, then and later, he endowed to the extent of $1,000,000. At the same time he gave $25,000 each to Kenyon College in Ohio, and Phillips Andover Academy in Massachusetts.

Meantime, Peabody had his pity for the condition of the London poor strongly aroused, and after a painstaking study of the conditions he instituted the wisest and most beneficent of all his projects for the betterment of his fellow-men. His plan was to build tenement- or lodging-houses in which the industrious poor could find wholesome and comfortable homes at a cost not greater than the rents they had before been paying for squalid, pestilential, and indecently crowded tenement quarters. In common with other students of the problems of human betterment, he was convinced that the first and chief requisite was to take the poor out of their squalid and unwholesome kennels, and give them decent homes in which the conditions should be such as to stimulate them to endeavor for the improvement of their lives. His purpose was to give the poor a chance, and by demonstration to prove to other landlords the possibility of making profit by building a better kind of habitation for the toilers than any that had previously existed. To this inestimably beneficent purpose, Peabody gave no less than $2,500,000, and he gave something better than that to his charity. He gave his time, his minute knowledge of conditions, his wisdom in human nature, and his extraordinary business sagacity. His benefaction provided comfortable homes for more than twenty thousand

people of the class most in need of such help and most likely to be benefited by its bestowal.

In 1866, Peabody came again to his native country, and again he "came bearing gifts" of surprising munificence. Three hundred thousand dollars he devoted to the establishment of institutes of archæology at Yale and Harvard. He gave at the same time $2,100,000 in aid of education in the Southern States of the Union, and three years later he increased this sum to $3,500,000. Other educational and charitable purposes were benefited to the extent of $200,000 during his visit of 1866.

Congress rendered fitting thanks to him for his munificence, and on his return to England the Queen desired to mark her appreciation of his good works by creating him a baronet. He declined that honor, but her Majesty was not satisfied to let the matter rest there. She caused Peabody to be asked what she could give him in token of her desire to do him public honor, and he expressed a wish for a simple letter from the Queen, "which," he said, "I may carry across the ocean and deposit as a memorial of one of her most faithful sons." The letter, written by the Queen's own hand, was accompanied by the additional gift of a portrait of herself, and both are cherished in the Peabody Institute, in the native town of the man they were meant to honor.

A little later, Peabody permanently endowed an art school in Rome. In 1869 he visited the United States for the last time, adding largely to his former benefac-

tions : establishing a museum at Salem, Massachusetts, and giving more than $150,000 to other public purposes.

On his return to England he found that he had been honored there by the erection, in London, of a noble bronze statue of himself, the work of the American sculptor, W. W. Story, unveiled by the Prince of Wales with every public manifestation of the universal honor in which the prince of philanthropists was held in his adopted country.

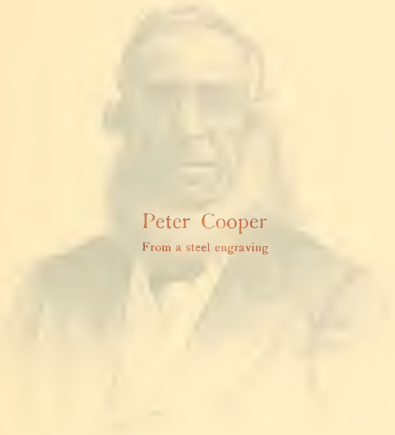
Then came death to end the splendidly beneficent career, on November 4, 1869. And then came, from the two great English-speaking nations of the world, which he had so greatly honored and benefited by his philanthropy, such tributes to his memory as had never before been paid to a private personage. Great Britain put aside all traditions and all precedents in offering a grave for George Peabody in Westminster Abbey, and there, in fact, his funeral was celebrated. But, in accordance with his own wish in life, his body was brought to America for burial by the side of that of his mother.

But so great and so universal was the desire in both countries to pay tribute to the memory of this man that the British Government detailed the finest frigate in that country's navy to bear the body home in state, while, on our side, Admiral Farragut in person commanded the squadron appointed by this government to receive it.

PETER COOPER

ABOU BEN ADHEM'S claim to be set down as "one who loves his fellow-men" was not better founded than Peter Cooper's title to a like distinction. As a philanthropist he was not content to give money lavishly in aid of others; he brought to bear upon his giving, as George Peabody did, all that sagacity which had won fortune for himself, all that practical knowledge of the working man's needs which his own experience, first as himself a working man, and afterwards as a large employer of working men, had given to him.

His benefactions were not mere gifts drawn from superfluous wealth. They covered schemes of help which were as carefully and intelligently wrought out as had been the enterprises from which his large possessions were derived. It was never his purpose to give mere alms, to squander money in futile endeavors to relieve want to-day which must recur in unabated severity to-morrow. His plan of beneficence was always founded upon the idea of helping men to help themselves. He endeavored to give to the needy not



Peter Cooper

From a steel engraving





the unearned rewards of industry, but such equipment as should enable the beneficiaries of his bounty to earn reward for themselves by industry of their own.

His own strangely varied career had taught him, far better than most men ever learn, the conditions under which endeavor achieves success, the equipment that is necessary to hopeful industrial effort. He knew, as few men have ever known, the actual educational needs of men and women who have only their hands and eyes and physical capacities as their means of subsistence, and it was intelligently to meet and satisfy these needs that he did his great works of charity.

His career was typically American. Beginning with nothing he achieved the best that he sought. Without capital, without schooling, without assistance of any sort, he managed to do conspicuously well those things which are commonly supposed to be possible only to trained intelligence supported by adequate means.

He was born the son of a poor hatter in New York City, on February 12, 1791. His only education was secured during a single year of half-day sessions at a very common school. While still a mere child he went into the hat shop and completely learned the trade of fashioning headgear as that trade was then practised. A little later he was employed in a brewery at Peekskill. After a brief time we find him in the Catskills, still a mere boy, engaged again in making hats, and afterwards in moulding bricks. Hat-making

in Brooklyn, brewing at Newburgh, and other occupations followed in disorderly and rather purposeless succession, under the vacillating direction of the boy's apparently irresolute and incapable father, until at the age of eighteen years Peter was regularly apprenticed to a carriage-maker.

But although he had mastered that trade and even made an important invention in connection with it, young Cooper, when his apprenticeship expired, declined to follow it. His natural mechanical gifts had by this time been supplemented by skill in the working of wood and iron, and for the exercise of this skill and of his natural ingenuity he sought, in a machine shop, a larger opportunity than wagon-making could offer. For a time he made cloth-shearing machines in a factory which he had himself set up. Then he made cabinet work. Soon afterwards he removed from Long Island to New York and established a grocery. He next began that business of glue-making which he continued, in connection with other enterprises, throughout his life. Little by little he added other products to his glue, and little by little he acquired wealth in the business.

In 1828 he went to Baltimore, where he established iron works, solved some of the most difficult problems of American railroad operation, designed and built the first locomotive engine ever constructed in America, and rescued from bankruptcy the only railroad then existing in the United States—the Baltimore & Ohio line. To say that he constructed the first American locomotive is very inadequately to record that achievement. It

was easily possible for American railroad projectors to buy from England as many locomotives as they might need. But practical experiment showed that those locomotives could not haul trains over the steep grades and sharp curves which marked the Baltimore & Ohio road, and which then seemed necessary to the construction of all railroads in America. Nor could British mechanics adapt their engines to such American uses. The Baltimore & Ohio road had been built at an expense that practically exhausted the resources of those in control of it. It could not be operated with any machinery then known. Either it must be abandoned and its enormous cost thrown away, or some new and practically available form of locomotive engine, adapted to its peculiar conditions, must be devised. That is what Peter Cooper achieved in 1830, and from his labors to that end he realized what was then regarded as a great fortune.

From that time forward, Cooper devoted himself largely to the conduct of iron foundries, rolling-mills, and machine shops in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, becoming one of the great "captains of industry" of his age, and originating many new uses for iron, among them the substitution of iron for wooden beams in architectural work and bridge-building.

He was the early advocate of an Atlantic cable line, and in the hour of its sorest need, when faith in the possibility of ocean telegraphing sank to zero, he supplied, out of his own private means, the money with which the work was ultimately carried to completion. Thus

he was the real father of ocean telegraphy. It was his faith, rather than that of Cyrus Field, that carried the enterprise to completion, and the poem "How Cyrus Laid the Cable" ought properly to have celebrated Peter Cooper as its hero.

Having made his fortune, and having established his various enterprises so that their conduct might safely be left to the superintendence of others, Peter Cooper devoted himself for the remainder of his life to his great philanthropic work of providing others with that equipment of brain and eye and hand which renders the workman and the workwoman independent of anybody's favor, making of them persons so capable of rendering service to the world that the world in its turn is eager for their assistance.

With this purpose in mind, he created Cooper Union, where a free library and reading-room should furnish all that books can supply of instruction; where free lectures in science, art, and industry should bring to all manner of men and women the best results of investigation and invention, and where a free school of design should furnish to men and women dependent upon their own exertions for a livelihood that training of the eye and hand and intellect which breeds capacity and deftness, and equips its fortunate possesser for the fit accomplishment of any task that may present itself.

With the wisdom of his varied experience in affairs, Mr. Cooper so ordered this beneficence of his that it should be forever self-supporting, tempting those who

should come after him, indeed, to enlarge its usefulness with lavish gifts of their own, but not leaving it in any degree dependent upon their impulses of generous giving. Having bought a suitable plot of ground, he built his institute in such form that the rentals from those parts of it that could not in any case be used directly for its purposes should forever and increasingly furnish an annual income for its support. To this he added an endowment fund, thus rendering his benefaction secure against all hazards of circumstance.

Peter Cooper's Americanism was intense, instinctive, all-mastering. He believed in his country, its institutions, its people, its past, its present, its future, its achievements, and its aspirations. He was a democrat in the fullest and best sense of the term. His belief was in the people, not in a class. His concern was for the great masses of men and women who do the world's work, not for the few who assume to direct their endeavors and appropriate to themselves the pecuniary rewards of other men's labors.

He lived simply, honestly, and always in most neighborly fashion. He had an encouraging word for every effort that sought human benefit, and his interest in the betterment of human conditions knew no abatement, even to the end of a life that covered no less than ninety-two years, one month, and twenty-two days.

HORACE MANN

AS lawyer, statesman, legislator, codifier, traveller, and college president, Horace Mann led a variedly active life which was fruitful of good in many and diverse directions. But his fame rests solely and justly upon the work he did for education in this republic of ours.

He was the very first to appreciate at its full value the necessity of popular education in a republic governed by the suffrage, a nation in which every man has a vote, and in which the masses must always outnumber the classes, a nation in which the course and policy of government must always be directed by the will of the people, whether that will be well or ill informed. He was the first, also, to realize what and how much education includes and what it means, the first to divorce school training from its traditions of routine acquirement, and to awaken men's minds to a due appreciation of its function in training the character as well as the intellect, and fitting the young for the efficient discharge of the duties of mature manhood and womanhood. He was the first serious ad-



Horace Mann

Redrawn from steel engraving





vocate of rational methods in American education; the first to see how far the teacher might increase his influence for good by making himself the friend and companion of his pupils, where by tradition he had been their enemy to be hated, their taskmaster to be thwarted whenever juvenile ingenuity was equal to that undertaking.

How great a work of school amelioration he did, it is difficult for men and women of this generation to imagine, or even to understand upon explanation. When he set his face against flogging he was met by the very angry antagonism of the whole schoolmaster class. He was denounced as an enemy of all successful teaching, as a visionary enthusiast who would rob the school of that discipline of terror on which alone it had up to that time relied as a means of compelling the mastery of dull tasks, stupidly assigned by learned unintelligence. When he recognized the rights of childhood and urged that they be respected, he was jeered at as an impractical dreamer and a pestilent revolutionizer of the established order of things. When he urged the gentle and loving training of the very young through appeals to their natural instincts of interest in the wonderful world into which they had been born, the whole army of schoolmasters, backed by all the mongers of catechisms and all the devotees of Solomon's-rod rule, opposed him as a vain dreamer of mad, disturbing schemes of innovation.

But Horace Mann, with his keen insight into human nature, with his enlightened mind and broad

sympathies, and, above all, with that resistless force which enthusiasm brings to the aid of every genuine apostle of reform, was more than a match for all the interests and all the prejudices that opposed him. It is no exaggeration to call him the founder and father and instigator of all that is best in modern American methods of education; it is not too much to say of him that he wrought that educational revolution which has put reason and kindly interest into the seats once occupied by brute force, substituted intelligence for passion in school government, and made of teaching a profession in which the best men and women among us may engage with self-respecting enthusiasm. The influence of Horace Mann is dominant to-day in every school, public and private, throughout the land, and it is an influence of inestimable beneficence.

Horace Mann was born of very poor parents, in Franklin, Massachusetts, on May 4, 1796. He earned his own education by hard work, and extremely meagre living, and after his graduation from Brown University in 1819 he devoted himself for a time to teaching. In 1823 he was admitted to the bar. In 1827 he was elected to the State Legislature, where, during the next six years, he took an active part, especially in all legislation that concerned education, public or private. In 1833 he removed to Boston, where, during the same year, he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate, of which he became presiding officer four years later.

His great work for education began in 1837, when he was made Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of

Education. In that capacity, during the next eleven years, he was a tireless worker for the betterment of all schools. He secured important reforms in the State school laws. He brought about the establishment of normal schools for the training of a fitter class of teachers than then existed. He instituted teachers' conventions in all the counties, the purpose of which was to stimulate among teachers an intelligent enthusiasm in their work, and to improve methods by a free interchange of opinions and experiences. He discouraged the use of corporal punishment in schools, and, despite angry resistance, succeeded at last in abolishing that abominable relic of barbarism. He instituted a system of school statistics, the first ever known in America, and in other ways sought to give unity and systematic purpose to educational work.

He went to Europe at his own expense, and brought back a rich harvest of observation for the enlightenment of American educators. He quickly made of Massachusetts, so far as the masses of the population were concerned, the best-educated State in the Union, with the clearly foreseen result that the educators and the public authorities of other States began eagerly to learn of Massachusetts the lessons he had taught. If some of them have since notably bettered the instruction and taken the lead even of Massachusetts, it may be fairly assumed that that, too, was a result contemplated by the great apostle of educational reform. It was at any rate inevitable as a result of the great work he had done in Massachusetts.

He has himself left the best record of the diligence with which he did that work. He wrote:

"From the time I accepted the secretaryship in June, 1837, until May, 1848, when I tendered my resignation of it, I labored in this cause an average of not less than fifteen hours a day. From the beginning to the end of this period I never took a single day for relaxation, and months and months together passed without my withdrawing a single evening to call upon a friend."

When he resigned his secretaryship, his great life-work was fully done. He had wrought the revolution intended. He had not only sowed the seed, but had seen it spring into lusty life and grow under his careful cultivation into a vigor that no adverse influence could threaten with impairment. The rest was for others to do.

From 1848 till 1853, Horace Mann served in Congress, acquitting himself there, as everywhere else, with abundant credit. But in comparison with his educational reform work, his congressional activity was insignificant in its fruitage. In 1852 he was defeated as a candidate for governor of Massachusetts, and in the same year he became president of Antioch College, an obscure coeducational institution at Yellow Springs, in Ohio. He died there on August 2, 1859. He left behind him, as a heritage of the American people, a legacy of beneficence such as it is the fortune of few men to give to those who come after them.

THE INVENTORS

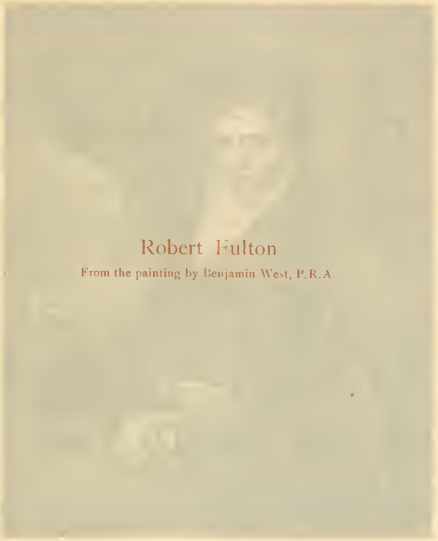
ROBERT FULTON

THERE are many points of close and interesting similarity in the life stories of Robert Fulton, the father of the steamboat, and S. F. B. Morse, the father of the telegraph. Both began life as artists. Both were miniature- and portrait-painters while yet mere boys under age. Both became pupils of Benjamin West. Both drifted into science and invention through accidental association. Each invented a variety of quite dissimilar contrivances. Each made one supreme invention which mightily ministered to that facility of human intercourse which is the harbinger and chief agency of civilization. Each was forced to face disputes as to the originality and priority of his invention, and to each the only harvest from his labors for long years was a multitude of costly and vexatious lawsuits. Finally each was destined to receive unstinted honor in spite of rivalries and jealousies, each being everywhere popularly recognized as in effect the inventor of that which he claimed.

Robert Fulton was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1765. When only seventeen years

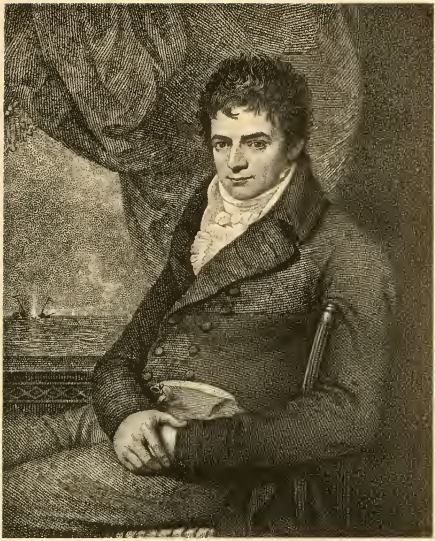
of age the untutored country boy went to Philadelphia, where he achieved immediate success as a painter of portraits, miniatures, and landscapes. Before reaching his majority he had earned money enough by his art to purchase a farm for his widowed mother, and to justify him in going abroad for study.

In England he became the pupil of Benjamin West, and so far perfected himself in his art as to secure rich commissions from wealthy and titled personages. It was in the practice of his art that he became favorably acquainted with Earl Stanhope and the Duke of Bridgewater, two noblemen who had achieved distinction as inventors, Stanhope of an improved printing-press, and Bridgewater of new methods of canal construction. In association with these two men, Fulton's mind was directed towards mechanical and engineering problems, especially in connection with navigation. He invented a system of inclined planes to take the place of locks in canal navigation; a new device for cutting marble; a system of cast-iron acqueducts and bridges; a flax-spinning machine; and several new types of watercraft. He was one of the earliest advocates of that system of canals which afterwards contributed so greatly to New York's commercial supremacy. He published treatises in London urging the commercial advantage and necessity of canals, and these he pressed upon American attention, particularly as to New York's need and opportunity in that respect. All this was in the latter end of the eighteenth century.



Robert Fulton

From the painting by Benjamin West, P.R.A



In 1794 Fulton went to France and there painted the first panorama ever exhibited in that country. Three years later we find him engaged in constructing a submarine torpedo-boat of his own invention—which, after repeated trials by the French and English governments, was rejected by both. The craft would sink below the surface of the water and rise again at the will of its inventor; but its utmost speed under water was only five miles an hour, and it had not power enough to stem any considerable current.

About 1806 Fulton returned to the United States where he continued his experiments with torpedoes and other war contrivances, for which Congress furnished a fund. But his chief attention at this time was given to the problem of steam navigation, on which he had been at work, at intervals, for more than ten years. While he was yet in France, he had experimented with a steamboat on the Seine, but unsatisfactorily. On his return to America he seriously set himself to work on this problem, and on August 11, 1807, his steamboat *Clermont* made the passage from New York to Albany in thirty hours. From that time forward the boat made regular trips, and others of an improved type were added later.

Fulton's claim to the honor of originating the steamboat was hotly contested by many rivals at the time, and controversy on that subject has not even yet quite subsided or lost all of its acrimony. The facts bearing upon the matter seem to be as follows:

As soon as the steam-engine was invented by Watt,

many men of ingenious minds began to busy themselves in devising practical applications of the newly harnessed power. Naturally, much attention was given to devices by which to make the steam-engine propel vessels, that being the most obviously desirable use to make of it. At many widely separated places inventors were simultaneously at work upon that problem, with varying degrees of partial success. In 1788 John Fitch's experiments on the Delaware resulted in the navigation of a boat for a distance of twenty miles. Three years earlier Rumsey had achieved partial success on the Potomac. John C. Stevens of Hoboken, New Jersey, experimented with some success; and in 1704 Samuel Morey navigated a steamboat from Hartford to New York. Other experimenters there were, but none except those mentioned achieved results worthy of serious consideration.

Unquestionably Fitch, Stevens, and Morey anticipated Fulton in the more or less successful construction of steamboats; but no one of them brought his devices to such perfection as to make the steamboat as a vehicle of commerce an accomplished fact. That is what Fulton did, and it is for that that he is honored. It was in recognition of this, his great service to commerce and civilization, that the United States Government, in 1814, gave his name to the first steam war-ship ever built in the world.

On the 24th of February, 1815, the inventor passed away, leaving unfinished what he regarded as the most important part of his life-work, namely, the construc-

tion of a practical submarine torpedo-boat. Upon that undertaking he was busily engaged when his last illness came upon him.

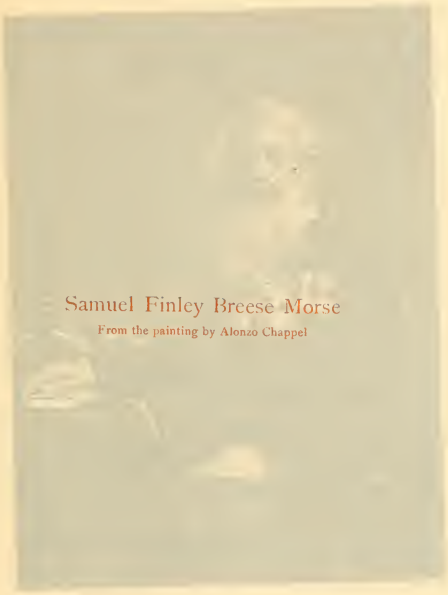
Fulton will always be held in honor as one of the great benefactors of mankind. Doubtless the steamboat, and its successor, the ocean-going steamship, would have come into being without him. But the fact remains that it was he who first practically solved the problem of steam navigation, and the fame of his achievement is surely none too great if we measure it by the stupendous results that have flowed from his labors.

SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE

IT is as the inventor of the telegraph that Samuel Finley Breese Morse has been assigned a place in the Hall of Fame. His selection for that honor in preference to Joseph Henry, and to the exclusion of Henry, is sharply criticised in many quarters. Indeed, from the time of Morse's first success until now there has been much and very acrimonious controversy as to the rival claims of the two men to be considered the inventor in that case. Without entering into that controversy,—concerning which there is no newly discovered fact to be stated, and no new argument to be advanced,—it will be sufficient in this paper to set forth briefly the essential facts of the matter and the contentions that have been based upon them.

It should be borne in mind that many students of electricity about the year 1830 were independently working upon the problem of electro-magnetic telegraphing, and it would be surprising indeed if no two of them had wrought upon substantially identical lines, duplicating each other's ideas in whole or in part.

According to his biographers, Morse's attention was



Samuel Finley Breese Morse

From the painting by Alonzo Chappel



first directed to the matter as one offering practical possibilities, during a sea voyage in October, 1832. He devised the dot-and-dash alphabet, now everywhere employed, before the voyage was ended, but he did not produce his first working model until the year 1835.

In the meantime, in 1828, Joseph Henry had devised and exhibited in use the electro-magnet, upon which all telegraphing primarily depends. In 1830 he invented the "intensity magnet," without which electric impulses could not be sent over long distances. In 1831 Professor Henry published a paper suggesting the use of this device in the transmission of telegraphic signals. During the same year he constructed at Princeton an electro-magnetic telegraph one mile long, over which he transmitted signals which were sounded at the further end by the tapping of a bell.

All this was a full year, and much of it two or three years, before Morse began his experiments. But it is by no means a necessary inference, as some have contended, that Morse knew of Henry's achievements or borrowed his results. In any case, two facts of the highest importance stand to Morse's credit: he first of all men devised a practical telegraphic alphabet, and it was he who first established a telegraph line for the actual transmission of messages.

Morse was a man of extraordinary versatility of mind. He won distinction, indeed, in two departments of endeavor — art and science — which are usually accounted almost antagonistic to each other in impulse

and in method. If he had not won fame from the telegraph he would still have been remembered as a famous painter and sculptor. His achievement in the practical application of science to human needs has overshadowed his earlier work in art, and in the popular estimation at least the latter holds small place. And yet it was sufficiently notable to have won for him in 1813 a place among the twelve most successful contributors to the British Royal Academy's exhibition, besides other honors both at home and abroad.

Morse was born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, on the 27th of April, 1791, and was graduated from Yale College in the Class of 1810. Even while an undergraduate he earned money by painting miniatures and cutting out those silhouettes in black which were greatly esteemed in the early years of the nineteenth century. After graduation he studied painting under Washington Allston, going with him to London, where he also had Benjamin West for a master. Two years later, in 1813, while Britain was at war with the United States, the young American art student won high honor in the Royal Academy exhibition with his picture *The Dying Hercules*, and a little later received the gold medal of the Adelphi Society for the plaster model which he had fashioned to aid him in the painting. After painting some portraits Morse returned to America in 1815, and meeting with small encouragement and smaller success in his Boston studio, he became a peripatetic portrait painter, first in New England and later in the South. In this department of art he

was abundantly successful, especially in Charleston, South Carolina, where, in spite of his tireless industry at the easel, his commissions outran his ability to execute them, sometimes by as many as one hundred and fifty orders in advance. Among the portraits painted about this time were those of President Monroe for the city of Charleston, Lafayette for the city of New York, and Fitz Greene Halleck, now owned by the Astor Library. Meantime Morse was busy in his spare moments in works of mechanical invention.

In 1823 Morse opened a studio in New York, which city and its neighborhood remained his home for the rest of his long life. There he became in effect the founder and first president of the National Academy of Design, and won much applause by his occasional lectures on art.

In 1829 he went to Paris for further study, remaining there for three years. It was on the return voyage in 1832 that his attention was first strongly directed to the subject of electro-magnetic telegraphing, and in this fact we have a positive, if not a conclusive argument against the hypothesis that his experiments and results were consciously or unconsciously borrowed from those of Joseph Henry. It is extremely unlikely, to say the least, that Morse, studying art in Paris,—then a month away from our shores,—had learned there anything of what Henry was doing with electro-magnets in the seclusion of a mid-Jersey college. And this improbability is rendered all the stronger by the fact that Henry's attitude toward his work was not at

all that of the inventor, looking for what are called practical results, but altogether that of the scientific investigator engaged in a disinterested search for truth.

The newspapers of that time made no chronicle of what the modest scientist at Princeton was doing. Henry himself at no time exploited his discoveries, and outside the college campus nothing was known of either his methods or the results attained by them except as Henry himself in due season set forth his conclusions in the proceedings of learned societies. He was studying the phenomena of electricity, not trying to invent a telegraph, though he referred in one of his papers to the possibility that somebody might ultimately apply his discoveries to practical telegraphic uses.

Having conceived the idea of electro-magnetic telegraphy, Morse busied himself with the invention of an apparatus which should record messages sent in his dot-and-dash alphabet. This was accomplished by a system of clock-work carrying a moving strip of paper, on which a pencil, rising and falling, marked the dots and dashes. For some years after the establishment of telegraphic lines all messages were thus recorded. But when the ears of operators became familiar with the clicking of their instruments, and able to "read by sound," the receiving apparatus, on which Morse had expended many laborious months of endeavor, was discarded as needless.

Morse completed his model near the end of the

year 1835. Meantime in that year he was appointed professor of the literature of art in the New York University.

It was not until 1837 that he exhibited his telegraph in operation. This was done by means of a 1700-foot wire stretched back and forth across a lecture-room. In that year also he first applied for a patent, and asked Congress for the money necessary to build his first line. The application for aid was unsuccessful, and in the following spring Morse went abroad to secure the support of foreign governments. He was received with high honors and scientific men applauded his discoveries. But his mission produced no results of value.

On his return to New York in 1839 he found himself impoverished, penniless, and deeply in debt. During the next four years he found difficulty in providing himself even with the poorest food and the meanest of lodgings. Sometimes, indeed, he was in a state of actual starvation. Not until 1842 did he succeed in inducing Congress to grant him financial aid to the extent of $30,000. With Ezra Cornell for his partner, Morse made experiments with buried wires and finally built a line on poles from Baltimore to Washington. This line was opened in May, 1844, and messages were sent and received over it to the measureless admiration of men.

Morse offered his line and his system to the government for $100,000, but the offer was declined. The victory had been won, however. The telegraph was a

practical working fact, and the possessors of private capital were quick to see the boundless wealth it was capable of yielding to those who should invest their money in the extension of the system.

There were difficulties still to be overcome, however. Morse's patents were violated and their validity contested. It was not until prolonged, vexatious, and very expensive lawsuits had been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and there finally decided in his favor, that those who had undertaken to establish lines throughout the land were able to gather any return from their investments, or even to rest securely in the possession of the lines they had constructed. Then the patents were extended and telegraphs spread nerves of intelligence all over the country.

Morse's system was so greatly and so obviously better than Wheatstone's in Great Britain, and the modifications of Wheatstone's system which were experimented with on the Continent of Europe, that it soon replaced all others, and is now the only system in use anywhere on earth.

Morse, in the meantime, was prosecuting experiments in submarine telegraphy. With a cable stretched under New York Harbor, he demonstrated the practicability of ocean cable service and laid the secure foundation for that vast system of undersea telegraphy which has since made the whole civilized world a closely related neighborhood.

Many other problems of invention engaged Morse's attention from time to time, but the results of his

labors upon them are so overshadowed by his achievement in establishing the telegraph, that they are now remembered only by the few.

A list of the honors showered upon him by universities and learned societies and governments throughout Europe would fill pages. They are all recorded in the cyclopædias, and need not be repeated here. They were, after all, only echoes of the greater fame that sounded in the applause of mankind for the father of the telegraph. Every pole upon which a wire is hung is to-day a reminder of the service this man rendered to mankind. Every click of an electric magnet sounds his praise.

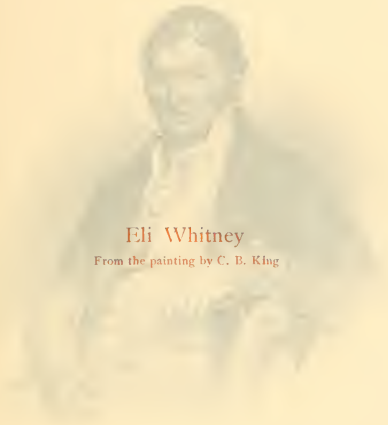
He died on the 2d of April, 1872, in the eighty-second year of his age.

ELI WHITNEY

ELI WHITNEY was a typical inventor. His habit of mind throughout life was to look straight at things and use common sense in dealing with them. All of his inventions were simple in the extreme, as all really valuable inventions must be. All of them were the simplest imaginable devices for the accomplishment of the end aimed at with the least possible expenditure of force and the least loss of time.

Whitney was born in Massachusetts, December 8, 1765. Mainly by self-teaching and personal ingenuity he made himself a skilled artisan at a time when skilled artisans were few and their appliances exceedingly meagre and clumsy. During the Revolutionary War, mere boy that he was, he rendered an inestimable service to the country by making nails by hand. Without his endeavors New England at that time must have gone without nails.

Having accumulated a little money, Whitney matriculated at Yale College and took his degree there in 1792, at what was then the almost unprecedented age of twenty-seven, for at that time it was the cus-



Eli Whitney

From the painting by C. B. King

ELI WHITNEY.

ELI WHITNEY was a [illegible] inventor. His [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Whitney was born in Massachusetts, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Yale College [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



tom for boys to enter college at about twelve or fourteen years of age and to be graduated at sixteen or eighteen.

Whitney had not yet found his work, and until a man does that his career does not really begin. It was his plan, after his graduation, to devote himself to the work of teaching, for he seems to have had as yet no adequate conception of his own inventive genius. He therefore went to Georgia to accept the place of tutor in a planter's family. When he got there the place to which he aspired was filled, and Eli Whitney was "a man out of a job."

He went, by invitation, to live in the family of the widow of General Nathanael Greene, while awaiting opportunity to secure a tutor's employment. In that lady's household, Whitney brought his mechanical ingenuity to bear in the construction of many little household conveniences of a mechanical character, which so pleased the lady that she vaunted his abilities abroad, telling everybody that "Whitney can make anything."

There was just then a perplexing problem that not only confronted the Georgia planters but interested the entire civilized world. Linen was necessarily a costly product, as it is to-day and always will be. It was much more costly then, relatively, than it is now, because, thanks to Whitney's ingenuity, cotton has since replaced ninety-nine one-hundredths of its uses.

But cotton could not then do this. The difficulty of separating cotton from its seed, and thus rendering it

available for the manufacturing of fabrics, was so great as to make cotton fabrics as expensive as those made of linen. One pound, or, at the most, two pounds, of lint cotton was all that a negro could separate from the seed in a day, and so the cultivation of cotton remained unprofitable. The problem was to find a better way, a way which would produce lint cotton so cheaply that every civilized man in the world might wear a shirt, and every civilized woman might pile high in her "presses" the household store of sheets and pillow-cases, while clothing herself in comely fashion in cotton gowns at one tenth the cost of woollen or linen fabrics.

It was the widow of General Nathanael Greene who suggested that the planters should invoke Eli Whitney's aid in the solution of this problem. It was then that this gracious woman declared her conviction that Whitney "could make anything."

Whitney instantly undertook the task. As yet he did not know the terms of the problem he was set to solve, for he had never seen seed cotton. He procured some with difficulty, studied its structure, and set himself at work on the construction of a machine that should enable a negro man to separate the seed from a thousand pounds or more of cotton in a single day without exercising any particular intelligence or skill.

Having no tools and no source of supply from which to get any, Whitney had to go to a forge and manufacture with his own hands all the implements that he needed. Having no wire and no possibility of

buying any, he had to create a wire-drawing plant and himself make the wire which he intended to use in the construction of his machines.

Thus toilsomely and in the face of almost inconceivable difficulties, Eli Whitney constructed a cotton-gin that, with the superintendence of one ignorant negro, was capable of doing the work of a thousand negroes in the way in which they had worked before.

His invention made cotton cheap, and its cultivation enormously profitable. It gave clothing to mankind in a lavish abundance never before dreamed of, and at a cost that the poorest could easily afford, while to this country it gave a staple product whose sale has poured incalculable wealth into the laps of the people. How greatly beneficent his invention was, a few figures will show. The largest export of cotton in any one year before the invention of the cotton-gin was less than one hundred and ninety thousand pounds. By the year 1803 the export had increased to more than forty-one million pounds. Since then the country has produced cotton crops amounting to more than eleven million bales, or five and a half billion pounds in a single year.

All the wealth represented by these stupendous figures was in effect Eli Whitney's gift to his country and to mankind. But incidentally his invention gave a new lease of life to African slavery in America. It made slave labor enormously profitable where before it had been of very doubtful profit indeed. It created a "vested interest" in opposition to the influence of Jefferson and other such men who earnestly sought

the gradual but certain extinction of slavery in the South. For this result, of course, Eli Whitney was no more responsible than was the inventor of wire nails for the loss of employment by thousands of cut-nail makers who were reduced to idleness and poverty by that device.

In common with many other inventors who have conferred great benefits upon mankind, Eli Whitney got practically nothing out of this, his greatest, invention. Before he could take out a patent on his cotton-gin his workshop was broken open and his machine stolen. It was so simple in its fundamental idea that any mechanic could duplicate it, and so presently cotton-gins, closely resembling it, and some of them being improvements upon it, were put upon the market to his destruction. He asked redress of the law, but to little effect. The lawyers accepted his retaining fees, but accomplished next to nothing in the matter of protecting his rights. At one time, it is said, he had no less than sixty lawsuits pending against those who had stolen his invention, but it is not recorded that he got out of them enough to pay his attorneys.

The State of South Carolina did indeed vote him an award of fifty thousand dollars for his invention, but he had to spend most of the money in litigation before he got it. North Carolina granted him a royalty on the use of his machines, but very little ever came to him from that grant. Tennessee, by legislative act, promised him a like reward, but at a later session of the Legislature of that State the act was annulled.

Thus from an invention which gave cheap clothing to all mankind the earth over, and gave to the country many thousands of millions of dollars in productive capacity, the inventor got practically no return whatever.

One thing, however, it gave him. It taught him to appreciate his own abilities and to turn them to account. It turned his mind from that small and meagrely compensated career as a tutor, which he had before contemplated, to the more active and intelligent use of his rare mechanical gifts. He went back to New England and established a manufactory of arms, in which he, first of all men, introduced the system of a division of labor for the sake of greater precision and a more perfect result. He made many improvements in the arms themselves, also, and upon his models all the government arsenals and private factories of arms have ever since been conducted.

In this work he earned a competence, and in spite of his loss of recompense for his greatest invention — the cotton-gin — he became a man of abundant fortune and died a distinguished personage in New Haven, Connecticut, on the 8th of January, 1825, just after passing his sixtieth birthday.

His service to the world is not rightly to be measured by the wealth — enormous as it is — that his cotton-gin has enabled the cotton-growing regions of earth to produce. Incidentally his invention also made possible all that vast cotton-spinning and cotton-weaving industry from which families by hundreds of thousands

in Europe and America derive their means of livelihood. And still more important, perhaps, is the fact that the cotton-gin has given cheap clothing to all classes and conditions of men, women, and children throughout the world.

The distinguished jury of the New York University has judged wisely in according to Eli Whitney a place among the immortal benefactors of mankind.

THE ARTISTS AND NATURALISTS

GILBERT CHARLES STUART

GILBERT STUART alone of American painters has been admitted to the Hall of Fame in his capacity as artist. Audubon, Robert Fulton, and Morse were also painters, but their fame rests upon quite other than artistic achievements. Strangely enough, Benjamin West has been excluded from the honor.

But whether or not Stuart was the greatest of American painters, he was at any rate and very certainly the greatest of American portrait artists, and one of the greatest portrait-painters of any time or country.

His genius for catching and fixing the expression of the human countenance was manifested even in his earliest youth, as two portraits, still preserved in the Redwood Library at Newport, attest. These and some other pictures were painted while Stuart was yet a boy, and before he had any instruction whatever in his art, or even any opportunity to see pictures that were worth his while.

Stuart was born in Narragansett, Rhode Island, on December 3, 1755. As has been said, he began painting

while a mere child, and at the age of fifteen, when he received his first instruction in that art, he had already won some distinction for his ability to reproduce expression as well as form in a portrait.

His first tutor was Cosmo Alexander, who took the boy at the age of seventeen to Scotland for instruction. Alexander's death and that of the only other friend that Stuart had made in England left him so destitute that he was forced to work his way back to America as a landsman sailor on board a collier.

His instruction was still, of course, exceedingly scant, and his youth was necessarily against him in the effort that he now made to establish himself as a portrait-painter in Newport, yet from the very beginning he seems to have commended himself by his work.

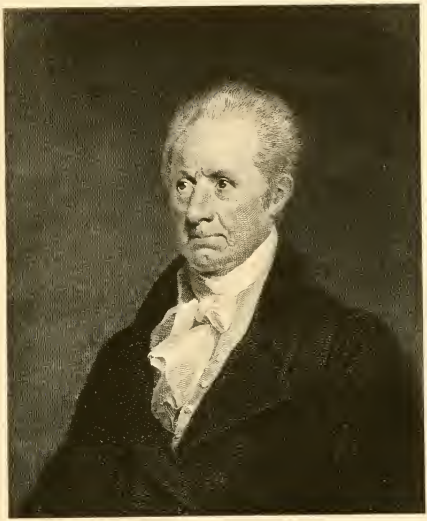
His desire for further instruction induced him, in 1775, to close his studio and go again to England. His hope was to study there under Benjamin West, as it was the ambition of every young American art student at that time to do. But the youth was modest even to extreme shyness, and it was not until three years later that he summoned the courage necessary to make application for admission to West's studio and for tuition at his hands.

His gifts, however, quickly appealed to that master, and a little later, at West's suggestion, Stuart opened a studio of his own in London. There he almost instantly achieved a most notable success. During the next few years he was indeed the most famous portrait-painter then living in London.



Gilbert Charles Stuart

From a miniature by Sarah Goodrich



When he returned to America, in 1792, he left behind him in England and in Ireland some of the noblest works of his life.

This success was quickly repeated in the United States, and after a little time he was able to realize the ambition of his life in painting a portrait of Washington. There is some doubt whether that first portrait of Washington remains or was destroyed by Stuart himself. It is pretty well established, however, that he made several replicas of it. He afterward painted many portraits of Washington, all of which are cherished as the best presentments of the Father of his Country which anywhere survive.

Stuart's fame was now so great that his services were in constant demand, and his fees much higher than those of any other artist of his time. But so reckless was he of expenditure, and so careless and negligent of his affairs, that he was always in financial difficulties, and, when he died, on July 27, 1828, he left his family absolutely penniless.

The qualities which distinguished Stuart's art were his wonderful mastery of color, his extraordinary facility in reproducing evanescent expressions, making them contribute to his portraiture, and his masterful handling of flesh tints.

He was never content to paint the face as it presented itself to him in the pose. He diligently sought to catch it, as it were, unawares; to bring into play that which was most characteristic of his subject, and to put upon his canvas those expressions of countenance

which meant so much more than mere form and feature. He was aided in this, it is said, by his remarkable conversational powers. He was an irresistible story-teller, and it was his habit during a sitting to indulge this faculty to the full, managing thus to interest his subject and to surprise in him those characteristic expressions which were best interpretative of his character.

Stuart left behind him at his death nearly a thousand portraits, more than seven hundred and fifty of which were catalogued in a single exhibition in Boston in the year 1880. These included, in addition to his other subjects, practically all the great Americans of his time, a fact which would give value to his work even if it had been artistically less notable than it was.

Gilbert Stuart was, indeed, the portrait-painter of American celebrity, the limner of the countenances of those who chiefly contributed to make our country great.

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON was a man of one idea, an enthusiast and devotee to his single chosen subject of fascinated study.

His devotion to that study was strangely unselfish and even self-sacrificing. To it he gave time, toil, the endurance of hardship, and an utter disregard of personal well-being throughout long years.

In all this, he seems to have had no idea whatever of gain, or even of reputation. It was not, indeed, until he was a man of middle age that he seems ever to have thought of turning to any practical account the results of his long years of diligent endeavor.

He was the son of a French naval officer, and was born in Louisiana, May 4, 1780. His father thought to train him for a career similar to his own as an officer in the French navy, but the boy from his earliest childhood manifested a passion for natural history which was not only absorbing but strangely exclusive of interest in anything else.

As a mere child he was a student of animals and birds, but more particularly of birds. It was his habit

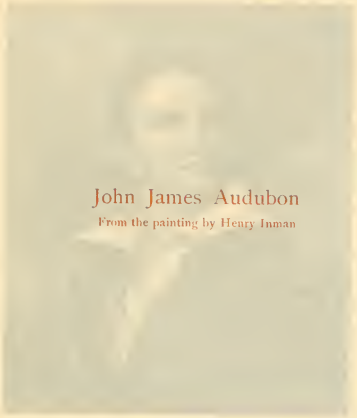
to make drawings of them and to color these, when he could, as faithfully as his untrained eye and hand would permit. In view of his later eminence in this department, it seems a special pity that he was modest while a boy, and burned those juvenile efforts, which, had they been preserved, would have had an interest peculiar to themselves, and quite inestimable.

The making of these pictures began soon after his early infancy was past. The passion that inspired them seems to have been born with the boy. It was observed by his parents while he was yet in pinafores.

It was impossible to educate such a boy in any but the one direction of his own choice, and his father, wisely realizing this, sought to make a painter of him. To that end he placed him as a student with David, who was then foremost among painters, and especially notable for his capacity to instruct young pupils, particularly in the art of drawing.

But young Audubon took little interest in the work assigned him in the studio. Following his instincts, instead, he spent the time he should have given to the study of perspective in wandering through the woods and fields, and making more and more intimate acquaintance with his friends, the birds. These he portrayed in preference to the subjects that David set for him to study.

When young Audubon was seventeen years of age, his father abandoned all effort to give him a regular education, even in art, and sent him to live the wild



John James Audubon

From the painting by Henry Inman



life that he preferred, on a farm which he owned near Philadelphia. Here began that wonderful collection of birds and eggs which made Audubon's name famous in after years. Here, too, began in earnest his work of painting portraits of his specimens, though to him it did not present itself as work, or impress him in any sense as a matter of serious endeavor. He pictured his birds with fidelity because he loved them, taking no thought whatever for any use that might be made of his pictures.

He was comfortably well off in the goods of this world, and, while still a very young man, ventured to fall in love with the woman who afterwards became not only his wife but the lifelong companion of his wanderings, the sympathetic sharer of his thoughts and aspirations.

At the suggestion of the young woman's father, Audubon attempted a business career, but he so neglected affairs for his favorite pursuits as to make only a succession of failures out of it. In New York, in Louisville, Kentucky, in New Orleans,—everywhere, indeed, that he went—his career as a merchant resulted only in that failure which might have been predicted in the case of a man of his inclinations and his habits of life. Finally he abandoned all efforts of this kind and went to live on a little Kentucky farm, where he might spend the greater part of his time wandering through the woods and studying natural history.

Little by little his collections became notable and his drawings of them multiplied, yet among his

neighbors he was deemed a half-crazy fellow, good for nothing except to tramp and shoot and idle away his time in making quite useless pictures.

In 1820, misfortune having overtaken him anew, he went to Louisiana, where his wife opened a school in which he taught music and dancing—music being the only art, apart from his bird portraiture, in which he was proficient.

At this time, also, Audubon painted portraits and such other pictures as he could manage to sell for small sums. It was about 1824 that the thought was first suggested to him of turning to account the accumulations of his woodland work, by giving his drawings in some shape to the public. Failing in his endeavors to accomplish this in Philadelphia, he went to England in 1826, where he became acquainted with many of the most distinguished men of the time, including Christopher North, Sir Walter Scott, Cuvier, and Humboldt. He was encouraged by them in his project of bringing out his drawings in the form of colored plates.

The enterprise must necessarily be a very expensive one, and Audubon had no money whatever with which to undertake it. He set to work to earn the necessary capital by painting such pictures as he could get to do, and with the proceeds of this industry for capital he presently began the issue of that wonderful work, *The Birds of North America*. It consisted entirely of plates, five to a number, and the subscription price for the entire work was not less than a

thousand dollars. Audubon, meantime, was his own chief canvasser for subscriptions, a work in which his wife diligently assisted him. He also painted from time to time in order to support himself, and at last had the gratification of finishing, in 1839, the publication of the work which had been begun in 1830.

Having thus brought out the volumes containing the plates, he set to work upon the letter-press volumes which were to accompany, illustrate, and explain them. This work occupied him for several years and was finished in 1844. Afterwards he wrote and published a small edition of *The Birds of North America,* and when that was done his work in the world was in effect ended.

He had in the meantime been recognized as one of themselves by the greatest naturalists then living, and by the greatest artists as a fellow-worker, peculiarly gifted in his own department of artistic endeavor. Honors were showered upon him by learned societies in Europe and America, and the man who had for so many years tramped through the woods in homespun garb, "idling away his time," as his neighbors thought, died, one of the most famous of men, on January 27, 1851.

ASA GRAY

NEXT to Dr. John Torrey—whose pupil and life-long co-worker he was—Professor Asa Gray was the most learned of American botanists, and the one who contributed most, not only to the ordering of American plant study and its interpretation, but to the advancement of botanical science generally. In co-operation with Torrey, he was one of the influential leaders in those endeavors which brought about the natural classification of plants by their kinships, as a substitute for the arbitrary classification of Linnæus. This was a service to botany scarcely less important than was the work, in another department of science, of those chemists who devised and secured the acceptance of the new, orderly, and rational nomenclature of chemistry by which the very name given to an element or to a compound reveals at once its nature and its scientific place.

Dr. Gray had also another claim to distinction among botanists. He knew, as Agassiz and Darwin and Huxley did, how to make science both intelligent and interesting to comparatively untrained minds, and

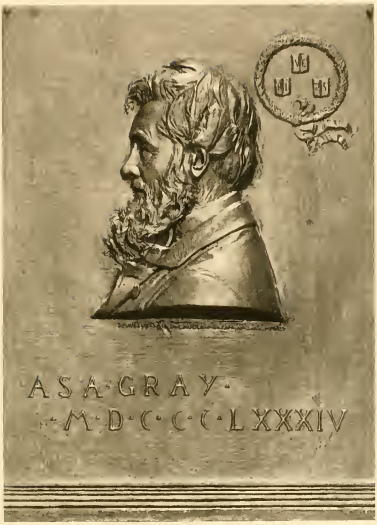


Asa Gray

From the bust by St. Gaudens in the Botanical Garden, Cambridge



ESSAY


ASA·GRAY·
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how thus to make its teachings acceptable, instructive, and greatly enlightening to multitudes to whom the ordinary formulas of science were a mystery past understanding. Probably there never were two little books that set so many people to thinking and observing as Asa Gray's *How Plants Grow* and *How Plants Behave*. The very title of the last-named work is an inspiration to profitable study through observation,—the only form of study that science recognizes as worth the effort put into it. The simple suggestion that plants "behave,"—that they have ways of their own, that they seem to be inspired with a purpose, whether their own or that of some power outside of themselves matters not,—that simple suggestion is an inspiration to scientific observation, a lure to interested looking, a temptation to earnest and profitable thought, and the simple lucidity of the essay both stimulated study and rewarded it. When the little book appeared in print, Dr. George Thurber, himself one of the notable botanists of his time, asked Professor Gray: "How did you happen to think of it?" Dr. Gray replied: "It 's all due to that wonder-worker, Darwin. He has taught all of us how to observe, and that is the greatest lesson that anybody ever taught in this dull-eyed world of ours."

Gray himself had much of Darwin's gifts of observation and of inspiration. To a pupil who was worthy of his instruction he once said: "Look. Then think. Then look again in the light of your thinking. After that you will be fit to think in the light of your looking."

All this was the genius of the born teacher; but it

was more. That which he taught to his pupils as the art of acquisition in science was his own art of original, scientific discovery. To that temper of his mind, to that direction of his intellect, we owe all that he found out and recorded for our instruction.

Asa Gray was born in the little village of Paris, Oneida County, New York, on November 18, 1810. The village had aspirations of greatness, as the name it selected for itself abundantly attests. If it has never achieved its ambitions in any other way, it is at any rate entitled to pride itself upon the fact that one of its mothers gave Asa Gray to a world that is always eagerly waiting for such men as he was. He had only an "academy" education, after which he studied so much of medicine as was in that day required for a degree that meant nothing in particular. In the course of his medical studies he learned at least what science means, and developed a passion for inquiry which made his subsequent career possible.

He turned almost immediately from the pill practice of those days to the study of botany, under the tuition of the greatest botanist this country has ever produced—Dr. John Torrey, an immortal who has been strangely omitted in the choice of names for inscription in the Hall of Fame. He learned rapidly, and in 1834 was recognized by the National Government as a botanist of authority, being appointed in that year to the place of botanist to the Wilkes expedition. Delay in the departure of that expedition led to his resignation of the post assigned him.

The University of Michigan offered him a professorship, which he declined. In 1842 he was made a Professor of Natural History at Harvard, a position which he retained for more than thirty years, resigning it at last in 1873 because of advancing age ; but, by request of the University, retaining the curatorship of that wonderful herbarium, numbering more than 200,000 specimens, and that library of more than 2200 authoritative botanical works which he had collected during a lifetime of devotion to the subject of his special study, and had presented to the University as his material contribution to a science to which his entire life and all of his intellectual gifts had been a less material but immeasurably more important gift.

In the practical work of American botanical exploration only two men had been recognized by the United States Government as master minds in that department of scientific research—John Torrey and Asa Gray. To them were submitted all the wonderful collections made by the various expeditions sent out by the government, and to their labors we owe all that we possess of interpretative botanical literature.

Earlier in life, Gray had undertaken, in collaboration with Torrey, to prepare a great, comprehensive, and authoritative work on *The Flora of North America*. Publishing, after the fashion of that time, in successive numbers, they covered those plants which are classed as "compositæ," but during the progress of the work the materials were so enormously increased by investigation, that even to complete this part of the work

would have required an appendix greater in extent than the work itself. To the lasting regret of all students, the enterprise was therefore abandoned.

Asa Gray's writings on the specialties of his scientific study were mainly presented in the form of official reports and scientific monographs. He wrote several popular books of fascinating interest, the most popular of which have been mentioned already. But it is a matter of enduring regret that he found no time in which to interpret his more strictly scientific writings into a form in which they might inspire and enlighten men and women and children who have the scientific thirst for exact knowledge, but lack that technical instruction in science which is necessary to the full appreciation of formally scientific papers.

Professor Gray continued to live at Cambridge until January 30, 1888, when his long and most useful life came to an end.



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